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FROM THE GIFT OF

WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR.

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28 Feb-1843

A  
FULL AND REVISED REPORT  
OF THE  
**THREE DAYS' DISCUSSION**  
IN THE  
**DUBLIN CORPORATION,**  
ON THE  
**REPEAL OF THE UNION.**

WITH DEDICATION  
TO CORNELIUS MAC LOGHLIN, ESQ.  
AND AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND  
BY DANIEL O'CONNELL, M.P.

A VALUABLE APPENDIX, AND THE PETITION FROM THE CORPORATION TO THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT FOR  
**THE RESTORATION OF IRELAND'S DOMESTIC LEGISLATURE.**

EDITED BY JOHN LEVY, ESQ.



DUBLIN:  
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REPEAL YEAR, 1843.

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GIFT OF

WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR.

TO CORNELIUS MAC LOGHLIN, ESQ.

MERRION SQUARE,  
24th *March*, 1843.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,

THE Publication of the first fair Debate on the Repeal of the Union ought not to come before the Public without a Dedication.

Responsible in a great measure for the accuracy of the work, to whom am I to dedicate it?

Should I not look out for a man whose private life is entirely without blemish, and whose public career is wholly free from error of judgment, or from the stain of one single selfish motive?

Should I not seek for a man who, though zealous, constant, and persevering for years upon years, in the struggle for the liberty of his country, could never be supposed to be actuated by any view to personal emolument, office, promotion, or dignity—except indeed the Patriots' dignity of unremitting exertion for the good of his native land?

Should not I look for somebody who is respected even by the enemies of the cause he has long advocated, and who is cherished by every friend to the Liberties of his Father-land?

CORNELIUS MAC LOGHLIN — Thou art the man!

To you then do I dedicate this publication, because it is eminently calculated to break the fetters of your country, and to restore her to Legislative Independence.

For more than forty years have you and I worked together, in the sacred cause of the Rights of Nature and of Religion. And while the open day-work, which is recompensed by public applause and public sympathy, was seized upon with avidity by me, how much of the toil of vexatious labour—the obscure and unnoticed, but most useful details of that financial system, without which we could not succeed, fell into your willing and most efficient hands? Even in all the pressure and bustle of your prosperous mercantile concerns, you found time to pay the same attention to the affairs of the Irish People that you paid to your own individual concerns; and—blessed be God!—you are now, in advanced life, with as much personal energy, with as clear and unclouded an intellect, and with as warm and affectionate a heart for the loved land of your birth, as you were when we began our career together. You find the abundant recompense for all your toils and exertions, in the opening prospect of better days for old Ireland.

TO YOU do I DEDICATE this BOOK.

Proud of the opportunity, I thus publicly assure you, that I am,

My Dear Friend,

Respectfully and Affectionately Yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL, M.P.

## TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

For *you* this debate was instituted. For *you* this work is published. To your freedom and prosperity every moment of my life is devoted.

Read this debate attentively; and if your *friends* do not convince you, I think your *opponents* will! Carry with you through all the operations of your every-day life these truths :—

Firstly—That there is not the least possibility of governing Ireland advantageously for her People, through the means of the British Parliament.

Secondly—That the only measure calculated to arouse all her People to such exertion as would entitle us to, and insure success, is the Repeal of the Union.

Thirdly—That the time *emphatically* is come when the Irish People can obtain that Repeal, if they are wise enough and virtuous enough to combine peacefully in an overwhelming majority for the Restoration of the Irish Parliament.

Fourthly—That there is no real obstacle to the Repeal of the Union, but an apprehension arising out of our past dissensions and struggles for Emancipation, that the Repeal would be followed by religious intolerance and sectarian animosity.

There never was a more unfounded apprehension. The causes of irritation being removed, the irritation itself could not continue.

Men of Ireland! your duty is so to conduct yourselves as to obliterate every such apprehension. Exert your-

selves unremittingly to exhibit kindness, affection, conciliation, and cordiality, towards persons of all sects, and of every persuasion.

Let us leave the settlement of our religious differences to grace, to piety, to the mercies of God, to the merits of the adorable Redeemer.

Irishmen ! The more Christian qualities you exhibit, the more Christian charity you display, the more moral virtues you practice ; the more profound is your piety before the throne of your Redeemer—the more shall you advance the *temporal* interests, and the *civil* liberties, of your native land.

It is a blessed consolation : Patriotism and Religion run in the same channel. And if all Irishmen were to-morrow practical Christians, their legislative independence—fraught with every blessing and every prosperity—would at once burst with renewed existence amidst the joyful acclamation of all.

Fellow-countrymen, the “accepted time” has arrived.  
**I OFFER YOU THE REPEAL.**

If you will but join me with heart and hand, from one extreme of Ireland to the other ; if you will rally with me in peace, in loyalty, in legal and constitutional exertion, in the absence of all riot, tumult, or violence—your country *can* be free ; your country *WILL* be free ; your country **MUST** be free.

Irishmen ! I proudly offer you the Repeal of the Union. It is in your own hands.

Your Devoted Servant,

**DANIEL O'CONNELL.**

DUBLIN, 24TH MARCH, 1843.

## PREFACE.

### TO THE READERS OF THE DISCUSSION.

I did intend to write a lengthened Preface to this Discussion, but the extent to which it has run, making as you see a volume of considerable size, precludes me from doing so. It may, however, be enough to express a hope that I have fulfilled the task I have undertaken to the satisfaction of all who feel an interest in the important question which has given rise to this debate. The printing was executed and the paper supplied by Mr. Duffy, the spirited publisher of Anglesea-street, and it will be seen that no expense has been spared to bring the work out in a way creditable to the Dublin press.

The speeches of Mr. O'Connell, as taken from the *Freeman's Journal*, have been all corrected and revised by himself—the other speakers also got an opportunity of correcting their speeches—some availed themselves of it, and with regard to those who did not I endeavoured to make such amendments as I deemed necessary, without interfering with the sense sought to be conveyed, or the subject matter touched upon by the speaker.

The *Freeman's Journal*, *Saunders*, *Warder*, and *Weekly Register*, are the papers to which I am indebted for the original reports; but it will be seen that they have all been corrected and revised, and that even the important and comprehensive speech of Mr. Staunton, which was taken from his own journal, contains many material amendments which, in the hurry of newspaper composition, were necessarily omitted.



As to the value and importance of the whole work, it would be superfluous to say one word—it speaks for itself, and I have no doubt, that not only the present edition, but many others, will meet a ready sale. I may say for myself, that I have been long connected with the Repeal question, having some years ago started a Newspaper in this City (*The Repealer*) to advocate it, by which I lost upwards of fifteen hundred pounds—that loss has not damped my ardour for the cause of legislative independence, which I believe will be materially assisted by having put into a durable form, a correct and authentic report of this memorable Discussion—in that undertaking I know I shall be sustained by all parties.

JOHN LEVY.

20, HOLLES STREET.

DUBLIN, MARCH, 1843.

# REPEAL.

DISCUSSION IN THE DUBLIN CORPORATION,  
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1843.

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THIS being the day appointed for bringing forward Alderman O'Connell's motion for the discussion of the question of Repeal, the Assembly House, in William Street, was, from an early hour in the morning, surrounded by hundreds of the populace, who testified by their presence the deep interest they took in the subject about to be debated, and the anxiety they felt to ascertain what arguments could be urged against the legislative independence of their native land. It was evident, from the day the hon. and learned Alderman had put his notice of motion on the books of the Corporation, that, not only the citizens of Dublin, but the people of all Ireland, felt that he had taken a course more likely to forward the great cause of Repeal, than any other which human wisdom or foresight could possibly suggest, and the result was looked to with an intensity of interest which it would be impossible to describe. The great champion of his country's liberty, accompanied by some members of the Council, arrived in William Street, at half-past 10 o'clock, and was received with deafening peals of acclamation by the people outside, which, as soon as he entered, were renewed by those who had previously filled the house. The other members of the Council arrived in quick succession, and, before 11 o'clock, the gallery and body of the house were filled to suffocation, by those who had been fortunate enough to obtain tickets of admission. The table, in the centre of the Council Chamber, was appropriated to the use of the gentlemen of the public press, for whom every possible accommodation was made, and, on no occasion since the Union, were there ever known to be assembled together so many reporters of the Dublin press, or correspondents of the leading English journals, not only in London, but in some of the provinces.

The Lord Mayor arrived at 11 o'clock, and was received with the most marked applause, as well by the populace outside, as the members and strangers who filled the house.

Mr. Alderman Butt, the great Union advocate, arrived immediately after, and was warmly greeted by his friends, and some of the members opposed to him, amongst whom was his great opponent O'Connell, who warmly shook hands with him.

After some routine business was disposed of, the Lord Mayor moved that the further consideration of the reports be postponed till next council day, as it would be impossible they could then receive calm consideration. The resolution having been carried, his lordship said they had then come to the important business of the day, which was the notice of motion of Alderman O'Connell, that he would move that a petition be presented to parliament from that Corporation for a Repeal of the Union. On the last day of meeting, he had felt it to be his duty to give utterance to the opinion which he entertained as to the expediency or inexpediency of bringing forward such a discussion in such an assembly as that over which he had the honour to preside. He had then said that, in his opinion, such a course of proceeding would be attended with great inconvenience, and would entail much irregularity, and he was sure that the members, when they looked around them, and contemplated the present state of the house, should be satisfied of that fact, and that if political discussions were to take place in that Council, they had before them a specimen of the inconvenience which would result therefrom, and of the manner in which the course of public business would be impeded (loud cries of "no, no," from Mr. O'Connell, and other members). Well, that was a matter of opinion; but for himself he thought it his duty to declare his sentiments on the subject, and the same opinion which he had expressed on the last day of meeting he had then no hesitation in repeating. However, he would not occupy any more of their time or attention then, but would call upon Alderman O'Connell to proceed with his motion.

Alderman O'CONNELL rose amidst great cheering, and proceeded to address the assembly. He said, I am an Irishman, I am an ardent admirer of the fair and fruitful land of my birth, my fatherland. I am an Irishman, and I have full faith and entire confidence in the noble and exalted qualities of my countrymen, the inhabitants of that land—of all my countrymen (hear hear). I do not divide them into sects, or persuasions, or party sections. I have full faith in them all (hear, hear); all partake of the generous, brave, and hospitable spirit, so inherent in my countrymen; and if there be an exception, the number is so small, and their motives are so obvious, that they are as nothing against the immense multitudes that I believe to be deserving of national dignity, and dishonored by provincial degradation (hear, hear, and loud cheers). I am proud of the position which I now occupy (loud cheers). It is not merely as the representative of

the metropolis of my native land, but standing forward as I do the advocate of Ireland and Irishmen—standing forward for the rights and liberties of Ireland—standing forward to assert that she has a right to be reckoned amongst the nations of the earth, and that the Irish people are not so degraded and disqualified as to be unfit to govern themselves (cheers). Oh, it is pleasing to reflect that every thing I can possibly say with justice, that every description I can give and prominently put forward, as to the superior fertility, station, and natural qualities of my country, the more, in fact, I can truly praise her, the more I can advance my own case in this discussion, (hear, hear, hear, and loud cheers). The more I can pay a just tribute to the virtues of her inhabitants, the more are the reasons and arguments augmented and increased by which the demand I make for national regeneration should be irresistibly yielded to, (loud cheers.) My case consists in the importance of Ireland as a nation, my case consists in the merits and virtues of her inhabitants, (loud cheers) ! I feel, I trust, not an ungenerous pity for those who are to be to-day the advocates of the degradation and provincialism of their native land. I unfeignedly pity those who are this day to tell me that the Irish, of all the people of the earth, are unfit for self-government ; or to tell me that there is something so mean, low, and despicable in the Irish character that we are unfit to do what every other nation on the face of the earth is fit to do—namely to govern ourselves, (hear).

I was not here when the house met on the last day ; but I saw through the medium of the public newspapers that something had been said that there was an implied understanding before your election, my lord, that we were not to discuss political subjects during your year of office, (hear, from tory members). I utterly deny it (cheers from the liberal members). There was no such understanding, and those who cheered were the first to introduce political topics here (hear, from the liberal members). Did they not introduce an address to Earl De Grey and divide on it (cries of they did) ? Did they not introduce a discussion on the wars in China and Affghanistan ? Did they not begin their rambles in Ireland, and go to the borders of Pekin, to find political subjects for discussion in this room and by this assembly, and after all this I hear a cheer from the very gentlemen who introduced political subjects here, signifying, if that cheer means any thing, that political subjects were prohibited, I however, defy contradiction, when I emphatically say that there was no treaty, no compact, express or implied to forbear the discussion of political subjects in this assembly, (cheers). *Would I*—could I enter into such a treaty—I, who boasted in the House of Commons that the corporations of Ireland would be normal schools for peaceful agitation, a sentence taken up against me

when I proclaimed that one of my great objects in seeking for a reform of the corporations was, that Irishmen of all parties might meet together and discuss those questions deliberately, openly, and manfully (hear, hear, hear)? Let it be also recollected, that from that chair I proclaimed the same thing (hear). I said no person should know my politics by my judicial conduct as Lord Mayor, but still that I was a Repealer (cheers). Implication there was none. I would scorn to be a party to any such implication, if indeed one word had been said of any such agreement, I should have loudly and indignantly disclaimed it, as I disclaim it now (hear). Why, the former corporation petitioned upon every political subject (hear). There is not one that they did not petition on. For a repeal of the Union they petitioned three times (hear). And on another question that I took a deep interest in, they petitioned I suppose fifty times (hear). It may be said that was a bad example to follow; their bad examples I would not follow, but I would follow their good examples (hear). The parliament has taken care to restrain us within very narrow limits in our conduct as a corporate body, and we should not add further degradation to that by restraining ourselves from the expression of political sentiments (hear). I say, then, what is good in the old corporation imitate, and that is, the attention they paid to political affairs, and which was only bad so far as they directed their political exertions to party purposes. I disclaim all party purposes—I heartily condemn them as ludicrous, as well as unwise (hear, hear, and cheers).

Indeed, another thing struck me; while I was absent the hon. and learned Alderman challenged me, in terms consistent with that courtesy which he never violates, to a discussion of the question of Repeal; yet now judge my astonishment when I find that he who so emphatically challenged this discussion, has now given notice of an amendment to my Repeal resolution, condemning in express terms all discussion on that subject (laughter and cheers).

However, I am glad he is here ready to discuss the question; and now I am ready to discuss it with him, and to address the observations I have to make to this assemblage, representing as it does the city of Dublin—a city which has suffered such master grievances by the Union, that it would be impossible, I take it, that there should not be a majority of her representatives in favor of the petition (hear, hear). It is not to convince those who are by my side, whom experience has already convinced by the irresistible evidence of their senses, of their feelings, of the destruction of their property, that I address you. No I stand here to argue with those out of this room, who are ignorant of, and many of whom are adverse to our rights. I from this spot address my arguments to the entire Irish nation, to the British people, to the civilized world, where this discussion will be carried on

the wings of the press. I stand here to discuss the question in an assembly of Irish representatives, where I cannot be cried down, and where, however unwilling gentlemen may be to waste their time in listening to a subject on which we differ, I am sure at least to receive courtesy (hear, hear), and that attention will be paid to the arguments proving the value to Ireland of those measures which I propose (hear, hear, and cheers). In another assembly I addressed before, I was foolish enough to take the line of argument showing Ireland would be rendered prosperous by Repeal, but I might as well have addressed the deaf adder (hear). If I showed that England would be rendered prosperous by it, I would no doubt have had a majority; but as surely as it followed that it would be of value to Ireland, that was a decided reason for there being a majority against me (hear).

I will now tell the hon. and learned alderman the propositions I mean to establish. I am here to assert those nine propositions.

FIRST, "*The capability and capacity of the Irish Nation for an Independent Legislature.*"

SECONDLY, "*The perfect right of Ireland to have a domestic Parliament.*"

THIRDLY, "*That that right was fully established by the transactions of 1782.*"

FOURTHLY, "*That the most beneficial effects to Ireland resulted from her parliamentary independence.*"

FIFTHLY, "*The utter incompetence of the Irish Parliament to annihilate the Irish Constitution by the Union.*"

SIXTHLY, "*That the Union was no contract or bargain, that it was carried by the grossest corruption and bribery, added to force, fraud and terror.*"

SEVENTHLY, "*That the Union produced the most disastrous results to Ireland.*"

EIGHTHLY, "*That the Union can be abolished by peaceable and constitutional means, without the violation of law, and without the destruction of property or life.*"

NINTHLY, "*That the most salutary results, and none other, must arise from a Repeal of the Union.*"

These are the nine propositions which I came here to-day to demonstrate—I say to demonstrate, not as relying on any intellectual power of mine, or any force of talent, but from the truth and plainness of the propositions themselves (cheers).

I will meet the hon. and learned alderman foot to foot—I retort his own challenge to discussion—I now reiterate the challenge with the same courtesy that he exhibited (cheers). It may, perhaps, appear to the assembly that I have opened a very wide field for discussion; but the question to be resolved includes and involves the liberties of a nation (hear). There are nine millions of human beings interested in the result of this day's deliberation; there is one of the finest and most fertile lands on

the face of the earth, her property, her productiveness, and the prosperity of her inhabitants, all involved in this day's discussion (hear, hear). I have, therefore, no apology to make for trespassing on you for a longer time than I could wish. I will not shrink from fully canvassing each of those propositions; and whatever time is consumed, the importance of the subject is my sole, but my sufficient justification (hear, hear).

FIRST—CAPACITY OF IRELAND FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

My first proposition is *the capability of the Irish nation for independent legislation*; and I turn, Sir, at once to the physical and natural advantages of my native land. Look at her position on the map of the world, an island the best placed in the entire universe for commercial relations. It is the last portion of the western European world, and it is the first land that is arrived at in coming from the hundred and increasing states of the west (hear). It is impossible, therefore, to have any land better situated to the entrepot of the commerce of the world; and to this great advantage is added this further qualification, that her harbours have been remarkable for their superiority over those of other countries from the days of Agricola to the present day (hear). They are celebrated by Tacitus, and they are acknowledged to be the most safe and secure of any other country to the present hour. She is better situated for commerce than any other country in the world. Her harbours were better known to merchants than any other, at a time when the only question was their advantageous position for commerce. Long before political jealousy, and the foul and hideous disposition to trample on a subject land, which every master power entertains, had blighted the blessings of providence to Ireland. Before that period the Roman historian tells us that merchants more frequented the harbours of Ireland, and in greater numbers, than the harbours of England (hear). See what her physical position, and the capability of using that position, the advantages to commerce, these harbours afford (hear). I am repeating things that are familiar; but this, in my opinion, is the great Repeal year, and it is necessary to lay a basis for that Repeal broad as the green isle we inhabit (cheers). Look to the recent accidents in the nautical world—have in recollection the hundreds that have recently perished in sailing vessels laden with valuable cargoes, having voyaged from the East Indies and southern coasts of America. When the crews are exhausted as they attempt to struggle up the channel with a lee shore on one side or the other, when under such circumstances the wintry storms blow they perish and are lost, and life and property are destroyed (hear, hear). If Ireland had justice done to her, she would be the entrepot for those vessels and their cargoes, instead of Liverpool, with her sandbanks, or even London, with the dangers of her river; would be safely landed in

Cork or Waterford, if these cities were the depots for those goods, these vessels would have delivered their cargoes in safety, and every man that perished would be now alive. The circulation of the cargoes from our ports through the empire would be most rapid through means of the steam-boats that fly between the two countries.

Besides this, the water-power of Ireland exceeds that of any other nation. Her water-power is capable of turning the wheels of the machinery of Europe. It is a healthful, cheerful, cleanly power, free from the filth and stench and hideousness of your steam power. Ireland has all these advantages, and she is inhabited by nine millions of, I will say, as brave a people as there is on the face of the earth—certainly as generous a people. I appeal to the reports of the English House of Commons, the result of evidence brought before it, that a more moral people than the people of Ireland do not exist; and in all the private relations of life—in those of husband, wife, sister, mother, parent, child—I ask, if in all those relations, do they not evince an equality with, if not a superiority over, the other nations of Europe (cheers)? I need add not to these the moral miracle of temperance that now pervades the entire extent of the land; but I ask, what country on the face of the earth but Ireland can exhibit the spectacle of five millions of persons, all voluntarily abandoning the great luxury of their station, and devoting themselves to eradicate vice and crime from the land, and to do away as much as they possibly can with poverty and destitution from amongst them? No; her people are moral, generous, hospitable, brave. They are a temperate and religious people—for, blessed be God, differing as we have done in doctrine and tenets, still there never has been anything like infidelity amongst us. We have differed, but we are all Christians—we have differed, but still religion has been the impression of all; and while those who have protested against what they call my errors, and while I, in turn, believe them to be in error, even they must admit the unalterable fidelity of the Irish people to their religious opinions during two and a half centuries of the most grievous persecution ever known on the globe (hear, hear). I repeat, that such fidelity as theirs has not been equalled in any country on the face of the earth; and I here ask, is such a country and such a people incapable or unfit for domestic legislation (hear, hear)?

I have compared her with the nations of the world. I have taken the different countries that are independent, and have governments of their own. I have taken their area and surface, and I find that Ireland contains 32,201 square miles, or, in other words, is 4,649 miles larger than Portugal, 4,473 miles larger than Bavaria and Saxony taken together, 409 miles larger than the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, 233 miles larger than the



independent states of Sardinia, Wurtemberg, and Baden, taken together ; 1,285 miles larger than the kingdom of Hanover, and I add to it the Papal States and Tuscany ; 9,609 miles larger than Denmark, Hesse Darmstadt, and the Electorate of Hesse united ; 5,565 miles larger than Greece and Switzerland, and 13,065 miles larger than the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium united (hear). In capacity, therefore, and extent of surface and soil, she is greater than all these ; and I may also justly add, that in fruitfulness she exceeds all these nations, though they all be independent states (hear, hear). But then I take the other ingredient of power—namely, population and revenue—and I find that of 18 independent states in Europe, Ireland exceeds every one of them in those points, and is equal to two or more of the European nations, leaving only four countries, including Russia, that are more numerous in their population, and possessed of greater revenue.

The first of these is Baden, with a population of 1,231,309, and a revenue of 1,086,000*l*. Now, the population of Ireland is nearly nine millions, while her revenue amounts to upwards of five millions of pounds sterling. And let me add, by way of parenthesis, that Ireland has more than four and a-half millions of actual revenue, while of her local taxation, the grand jury tax alone amounts to another million ; so that if I said her revenue was six millions, I would be nearer accuracy ; therefore, in stating her revenue to be five millions, I am infinitely lower than what it really is. I now proceed with my list. Bavaria has a population of 4,315,469, and a revenue of 3,030,000*l*.

STATES.	POPULATION.	REVENUE.
Belgium, ... ..	4,230,000	£3,500,000
Denmark, ... ..	2,096,000	1,549,444
Minor German States,	4,485,188	3,096,300
Greece, ... ..	810,000	364,000
Hanover, ... ..	1,688,285	1,080,000
Holland, ... ..	2,820,000	3,364,580
Naples and Sicily, ...	7,975,850	3,325,000
Papal States, ... ..	2,590,000	1,786,000
Poland, ... ..	4,188,222	—
Portugal, ... ..	3,530,000	2,091,000
Sardinia, ... ..	4,500,000	2,200,000
Saxony, ... ..	1,618,495	1,110,000
Sweden and Norway,	4,156,900	1,792,000
Switzerland ... ..	2,184,096	412,000
Tuscany, ... ..	1,330,000	580,000
Wurtemberg, ... ..	1,690,287	929,000

In Poland there is no means of ascertaining her revenue in her present unhappy state. Thus are there eighteen of the independent states of Europe, and not one of them has the population, while scarcely any of them has one-half the revenue of Ireland, and

none of them has any thing like the entire amount of her revenue. I add to these Turkey, with a population of 9,000,000, and a revenue of 3,500,000*l.*, and Spain with a population of 12,286,941, and a revenue of 5,700,000*l.*, insisting on an equality for Ireland with both of these. The only states in Europe that I admit to be superior to Ireland in their amount of population and revenue, are—Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia (hear, hear). I thus, therefore, show, by the unerring evidence of statistical returns prepared some time ago for other purposes, that of eighteen independent states, each supporting separate governments, and maintaining themselves in independence and authority, Ireland stands highest, and superior to all in population and revenue; and I have already shown that she stands higher than them in extent; and after the other facts of revenue and population I have stated, I need not assert again that in productiveness she is also superior to them.

It may be said that I have made out too strong a case, and it may be objected to it that I would seek to establish the total independence of Ireland. I certainly do prove that she is capable of a separate and single existence as a first rate power. But I want not that. I know too well the advantages of a connexion with another powerful country, to seek a separation from England, and I seek not to throw the property and the lives of the nation into jeopardy for any change of government or of crowned heads (hear, hear). The sovereignty of our beloved Queen is no burthen or weight to the state; the crown is known now only for good, and the man would be insane who thought of conferring any benefit on his country by shifting that crown from the brow by which it is now adorned and dignified (cheers). I want only to show what we are all capable of. I make no sectarian difference—I include all—Protestant, Presbyterian, and Catholic. My object is to benefit all—to do good to my countrymen of every persuasion alike, and to confer on every man the advantages that I seek for those who agree with me in religious opinions. It is that for which I struggle.

Perhaps it may be said that these are sentiments formed for the occasion, and announced at the present time for a particular purpose. Allow me to say—and it is gratifying to myself, and I trust not disagreeable to those around me, to mention it—that I do not borrow those opinions for this or any other occasion, but that they have been the leading doctrines of the entire of my political life. I took part in the opposition to the measure of 1800. I heard in this room a debate against the Union, at a meeting of the Irish bar; and on that occasion Saurin addressed the meeting from about the very spot where I now stand (hear, hear). The motion was then carried by a great majority; the minority was only 32; but it is curious enough that there was

not one of these 32, who has not since been placed or pensioned; and, by a stranger coincidence, three of them are still on the bench (hear, hear). Whether the termination of this debate may not also tend to the promotion of some parties in this room I know not (hear, hear, and laughter). That event I solemnly declare I would not regret. I wish gentlemen the full advantage of it; and it is a consolation to me that, in making exertions for the cause of Ireland, if I do not succeed in doing any good for my country, I at least help in conferring benefits on individuals (hear, hear, and laughter).

The first time that I ever addressed a public assemblage when I shuddered at the echo of my own voice, was on the 13th of January, 1800. That was my maiden speech, and it was made against the Union (loud cheers). I may here observe, by way of parenthesis, as a proof of the resistance that was given by the authorities to the expression of public opinion at the period when the Union was carried, that when we, the Catholics of Dublin, met in the Royal Exchange, in pursuance of advertisements inserted for a fortnight previously in the newspapers, and for the purpose of petitioning against the Union, the chair was scarcely taken when we heard the measured tread of approaching military, and Major Sirr entered at the head of a large force of soldiers, who arranged themselves along three sides of the room. Major Sirr called upon the secretary for the resolutions that were to be proposed, and after perusing them twice over, he then graciously permitted us to go on (hear, hear). Undismayed by this interruption, I addressed the meeting, and I wish to shew what my sentiments then were by reading a paragraph from my published speech. I can bear testimony to the accuracy of the report, because I wrote it myself (laughter). The original is in the hands of a member of my family. Here is what I said:—  
 “ There was another reason why they should come forward as a  
 “ distinct class—a reason which, he confessed, made the greatest  
 “ impression upon his feelings. Not content with falsely assert-  
 “ ing that the Catholics favoured the extinction of Ireland—this,  
 “ their supposed inclination, was attributed to the foulest motives  
 “ —motives which were most repugnant to their judgments,  
 “ and most abhorrent to their hearts—it was said that the Ca-  
 “ tholics were ready to sell their country for a price, or, what  
 “ was still more depraved, to abandon it, on account of the un-  
 “ fortunate animosity which the wretched temper of the times  
 “ had produced. Can they remain silent under so horrible a  
 “ calumny? This calumny was flung on the whole body—it was  
 “ incumbent on the whole body to come forward and contradict it.  
 “ Yes, they will show every friend of Ireland that the Catholics  
 “ are incapable of selling their country; they will loudly declare  
 “ that if their emancipation was offered for their consent to the

“measure—even were emancipation after the Union a benefit—they would reject it with prompt indignation.” (This sentiment met with loud approbation.) “Let us,” said he, “show to Ireland that we have nothing in view but her good—nothing in our hearts but the desire of mutual forgiveness, mutual toleration, and mutual affection; in fine, let every man who feels with me proclaim, that if the alternative were offered him of union, or the re-enactment of the penal code in all its pristine horrors, that he would prefer, without hesitation, the latter, as the lesser and more sufferable evil. That he would rather confide in the justice of his brethren the Protestants of Ireland, who have already liberated him, than lay his country at the feet of foreigners.” (This sentiment met with much and marked approbation.) I added, “if there was any man present who could be so far mentally degraded as to consent to the extinction of the liberty, the constitution, and even the name of Ireland, he would call on him not to leave the direction and management of his commerce and property to strangers, over whom he could have no control.” ✓

That was my first speech, and the tenor of my public life shows I have never varied from the sentiments it contains. At the time when the offer was thus made, Mr. Foster was making arrangements which were afterwards betrayed by the Lord Lieutenant, to have an opposition to the Union followed by the re-enactment of that code, and something worse, which I shudder even to think of; and yet, even at that moment, on behalf of my native land, I offered to sacrifice, our own rights to secure the general interests of our country—confiding, I own, that our Protestant countrymen would not ultimately be outdone by us in generosity (hear, hear, hear, and cheers). I never expected that any privileges, even if granted by an English Parliament, would have been of real value; and when we forced her to make concessions—when we compelled her reluctantly to grant emancipation—it was almost valueless, because burthened by the Union (loud cheers). But that is not the only occasion on which I made that offer. In 1810, when the English minister had the audacity to talk of the “growing prosperity of Ireland,” and when that declaration reached this country, there was a thrill of horror through the land at so foul and uncalled-for an assertion. A meeting of the corporation was held, at which Mr. Hutton attended, and addressed the assembly in language to which I shall by-and-bye call your attention. An aggregate meeting of the citizens of Dublin was convened by the high sheriff, at which I was present; and I hope you will not deem me egotistical, though perhaps I may be so, in calling your attention to a passage of my speech on that occasion. Here it is:—

“Learn discretion from your enemies; they have crushed your

"country by fomenting religious discord. Serve her by abandoning it for ever. Let each man give up his share of the mischief—let each man forsake every feeling of rancour. I say not this to barter with you, my countrymen. I require no equivalent from you; whatever course you shall take, my mind is fixed. I trample under foot the Catholic claims, if they can interfere with the Repeal. I abandon all wish for emancipation if it delays the Repeal. Nay, were Mr. Percival to-morrow to offer me a Repeal of the Union upon the terms of re-enacting the entire penal code, I declare it from my heart, and in the presence of my God, that I would most cheerfully embrace his offer. Let us then, my beloved countrymen, sacrifice our wicked and groundless animosities on the altar of our country. Let that spirit which heretofore, emanating from Dungannon, spread all over the island, and gave light and liberty to the land, be again cherished amongst us. Let us rally round the standard of Old Ireland, and we shall readily procure that greatest of political blessings—an Irish King, an Irish House of Lords, and an Irish House of Commons."

So far, therefore, from wishing to make the Catholic question a sectarian or a party question, the sentiments I utter here were those which characterised my whole life. I want liberty for you all—for all my countrymen—whom I know, and whom you all know to have physical advantages, mental powers, and bodily vigour, superior to those of any nation on the face of the earth. Has not the Scotch philosopher, after an experiment which continued for twelve years, to ascertain the comparative physical exertions of the inhabitants of various countries, placed the Irish people beyond every other country? (hear, hear, and loud cheers). Oh you are, you are, my countrymen, capable of being a nation—you are capable of governing yourselves—you are capable of improving your own country. You were once a nation, and with the blessing of God and the aid of good men, you will be a nation again (cheers). I now approach my second proposition. I have done with the first. I have shown that no country is more capable of being independent than Ireland; and if I am told, as I was elsewhere, something about the existence of steam-boats to bring troops into the country from foreign nations, I ask is it necessary to have steam-boats between Spain and Portugal? (hear, hear). What is there between the different independent states I have mentioned but a stream—a ditch—a line traced on the surface, capable of being passed at every point, and at every hour? And if I go to military tactics, was there any country in the world so situated in this respect as Ireland? Every road is a defile—every field a redoubt; and if squadrons of cavalry were sent to annihilate undisciplined infantry, it was impossible they could act, unless, indeed, the Irish were so foolish as to draw out

on the Curragh of Kildare, or some such open plain (hear); otherwise, cavalry could get no space to charge. And when I am told that the transportation of troops was rendered easier by the existence of steam-boats, I ask, is not the boundary line between Spain and Portugal an imaginary one? Do not the flocks and herds of one country pass over to the other, leaving the enemy the power of attacking, whenever they thought proper, on any portion along this boundary line? And oh! if to-morrow the mighty myriads of the Russian armies transferred their squadrons to our shores, the bravery of the Irish people would fling them from their cliffs into the ocean, and bury their cohorts beneath the waves which surround their "sea-girt isle" (cheers).

#### SECOND—RIGHT OF IRELAND TO A LEGISLATURE.

And now let me proceed to sustain my second proposition—the *perfect right of the Irish people to a domestic parliament*. I say that it is a right inherent in the Irish people. I say it was not acquired from any other people on the face of the earth (hear). As the Anglo-Saxon dominion spread in Ireland, as the Irish people combined with them, the right to a parliament extended; but it existed even in the minutest portion of the Anglo-Saxon population—even when the pale extended but to two entire counties, and two halves of others, making three in all, Ireland had a parliament. Her parliament was as old as that of England. And although the first statute in the printed volume was dated in the year 1310, yet, that a legislature existed long previous was manifest and acknowledged; but that date is enough for me. How did the parliament assemble? Who authorised it to sit? Was it by an act of parliament passed in an English legislature? No such act was in existence. Was it by charter from the British crown? No such charter ever existed. No; it sprung up as a necessary inherent ingredient in the social state of the country. As fast as men congregated under the standard of the English in this country, the privilege of being represented was an essential part of their rights. That was the universal custom which prevailed; and in the reign of James the First no other process was adopted, but to turn the entire country into shires, and abolishing the distinction between the English and the Irish. Ireland had a parliament as old as England; it rose as spontaneously from the congregation of freemen, until the representation was made universal by forming counties, in the reign of James the First. It had so existed, not, as I have said, as a favour, a concession, or a grant, but the inherent right of freedom, and without which it was but a name. The thirteen States of America, before the revolution, had each a local parliament. Nova Scotia has a local parliament; Newfoundland, Jamaica, and several of the West India islands, had their local parliaments. A local parliament is,

perhaps, springing up in the Cape of Good Hope; British Guiana, though under Dutch dominion some years since, will have a parliament; and even Botany Bay has its own legislature (hear). So that from the first to the last of the British dependencies are allowed to have a parliament. There is one every where except in our native land. We are the only stigmatised and degraded country under English dominion; although it is in direct violation of every principle of the British constitution. Let any man show me that any other right existed than the spontaneous right of freemen to be represented. Let no man tell me that I broach dangerous doctrines, when I allude to the thirteen United States of America which had local parliaments. It may be argued that they separated from England in consequence of those parliaments. No; they separated because England attempted to trample on those legislatures—they resisted the unjust and fatal aggression which was made upon them, and, blessed be heaven! it was a successful resistance (hear, hear). Yes; the right of Ireland was derived from the first principles of free institutions, and did not originate in any matter of grant, gift, favor, or concession, by any other people or power whatsoever: unless this spontaneity be denied; unless some other source or foundation of the Irish parliament be shewn; unless grant, charter, or act of the English parliament be shewn—and none of them can be shewn, because they never existed—the right of Ireland to a parliament of her own is clear, unclouded, irresistible, and in plain truth, inextinguishable.

### THIRDLY—CONSTITUTION OF '82.

Having established my 2d proposition, I come to the 3d; “*that such right was finally established by the transactions which occurred in 1782.*” For the purposes of this proposition I must go something back into Irish history. The Irish parliament, whenever backed by the Irish people, asserted its independence, and its sole power of legislating for their own country. That parliament, when adverse to the great body of the Irish people, felt the weakness of their own want of conciliation, and was weak accordingly from the period of the revolution of 1690 to the beginning of the American war. That parliament was most unjust and oppressive to the people at large. Encouraged and impelled by England it passed the hideous code of penal laws, which disgraces the name and memory of those who were its authors—it passed the blighting, emaciating, barbarous statutes, which made the mass of the people aliens and serfs in their native land (hear, hear). The consequence of this course of proceeding was, that England was on the watch to avail herself of Irish weakness; usurped a complete control over the Irish parliament; and embodied that usurpation into the act of the 6th Geo. I., which directly claimed and exercised the

power of British legislation over Ireland. If that power, so claimed, had already existed, where was the necessity for passing that statute? and while this act proclaims the slavery of Ireland, it admitted the pre-existence of freedom.

Passing that period, and coming down to the American war, where the people revolted, because the English attempted to trample on their parliaments, we find, that in consequence of the difficulties which England was in, a sufficient number of troops was not in Ireland to garrison her towns, or defend her from the aggression of a foreign enemy (hear, hear). What was done at this eventful period? The Irish nobility and gentry rallied together—a volunteer army sprung up like magic—seventy thousand men, armed, clothed, disciplined, by their own will, and at their own expense, presented their brave and determined front to the enemy—an army which had no parallel in the history of the world, and no example until Ireland set it. The entire of the British army was disengaged from Ireland; Britain was engaged in a fierce struggle with foreign powers, aided by all the force of her insurgent subjects; the Irish recruited the ranks of the British and manned their vessels of war; yet, according to a correspondence lately published, while the Irish people were thus supporting England, and at the same time struggling for their independence, his late Majesty, George the Third, was more virulent than his ministry to defeat that struggle and prevent the spread of liberty (hear). But a trumpet sounded from Dunganon—the Volunteers met—the counties met—the grand juries met—all, all of whom resolved that no power on earth was authorised to legislate for Ireland but the King, the Irish House of Peers, and the Irish House of Commons (loud cheers).

That was an awful crisis! Ireland had at that period her liberty, her independent existence had she pleased, in her own hands; she might have set at defiance the authority and the force of England. No men were more loyal or attached to the British constitution than the Volunteers were—no men were better supporters of the throne—but they were oppressed. They spoke out and denounced that oppression, and England thought the time had come when it was absolutely necessary to conciliate them (hear, hear). I have by me the message of the Duke of Portland to the Irish parliament, proposing to come to a final adjustment upon the difference which existed. The discussion and difficulty arose from the claim made according to the 6th Geo. the First, that the Irish parliament was inferior to that of England. The temper of the Irish nation blazed forth; the angry passions were aroused; Ireland was armed; she might be driven to imitate America; Ireland insisted on perfect legislative independence: England became alarmed, and proposed a final adjustment—mark me well, a FINAL adjustment.



The Lord Lieutenant, then in Ireland, was changed. The Duke of Portland was then sent over; and on the 16th of April, 1782, addressed the house in these words:—"I have it in command from his Majesty to inform this house, that his Majesty being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects of this country upon matters of great weight and importance, his Majesty recommends to this house to take the same into their serious consideration, in order to such a FINAL ADJUSTMENT as may give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland." I will only read one paragraph of the reply which was given by the House of Commons. It is in these words:—"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this house, signified by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, to assure his Majesty of our unshaken attachment to his Majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care in thus taking the lead to administer content to his Majesty's subjects of Ireland. That thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his Majesty the cause of our discontents and jealousies. *To assure his Majesty, that his subjects of Ireland are a free people. That the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof.*" (A burst of cheering here interrupted the speaker. He proceeded to read the reply): "*That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, nor any other parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatever in this country, save only the parliament of Ireland.* To assure his Majesty that we humbly conceive, THAT IN THIS RIGHT THE VERY ESSENCE OF OUR LIBERTY EXISTS; a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birth-right, and which we cannot yield but with our lives." Why was not that threat met? Why was it not set at defiance? Why were they not called on to part with their liberties or their lives? Oh, no! the English government succumbed—the King became sensible that an adjustment was necessary—and the cause of quarrel was removed. My lord, they said that the essence of liberty existed in a domestic parliament, and the King of England, and the parliament of England passed a law, disclaiming for ever any privilege or right to interfere with the then established independence of the Irish parliament.

Thus was a solemn treaty between the two nations entered into, concluded, and ratified. It was a solemn international com-

pact. But, alas! England never yet observed or performed a treaty with Ireland. No; she never made a treaty with this country which she did not violate in the most flagrant manner (hear, hear). She took every occasion to violate the most solemn compacts with Ireland. And to show you that I do not exaggerate, I will read for you presently, the first authority in the land to prove that he concurs with me in that sentiment. Remember I promised you to read the words of Bushe, describing the foulness of English treachery—words which are stronger than any I have uttered. Recollect, too, that the nature of the question under discussion was the right of Ireland to make her own laws, and that that right was confirmed by those proceedings. It had a double effect—it admitted the original right, and re-asserted it for ever by a solemn national confirmation, which put an end to all future questions being raised on the subject. I could read passages on passages for you to show how often it was said by the men in the government of each county, that no constitutional question could hereafter arise between England and Ireland—that every such question was set at rest, and for ever (hear, hear, and cheers). Time has, no doubt, passed away, and many years have elapsed since this contract was totally and shamelessly violated; but there is no statute of limitation against the liberties of a people—ages may roll over, yet their rights remain (loud cheers). If the rights of the monarchy were stricken down to-morrow, they would still exist. And let it be remembered, that those of the Irish people were co-extensive and co-existent with English dominion; that the final adjudication of 1782 was a solemn treaty and confirmation of those rights; and shame on those who now continue its violation (cheers). Oh! may my countrymen rally round me, until their mountain shout is heard even in St. Stephen's, and the cry of liberty is re-echoed through the land (cheers).

Ireland may have her freedom obscured, but the cloud is passing away, the awful solemnity of the treaty of 1782 is emerging from obscurity, this final adjustment was insisted on at the Union, then insisted on in vain, but in the healthier days that are springing up, a sounder policy will be insisted on with an irresistible vigour. Here is the ninth reason set out in the protest against the Union, recorded by the Duke of Leinster and nineteen peers, two of whom were bishops. 9th—"Because we consider the  
 "intended Union a direct breach of trust, not only by the parliament with the people, but by the parliament of Great Britain  
 "with that of Ireland, in as much as the tenor and purport of  
 "the settlement of 1782 did intentionally and expressly exclude  
 "the re-agitation of constitutional questions between the two  
 "countries, and did establish the exclusive legislative authority  
 "of the Irish parliament without the interference of any other.

“ That the breach of such a solemn contract, founded on the  
 “ internal weakness of the country, and its inability at this time  
 “ to withstand the destructive design of the Minister, must tend  
 “ to destroy the harmony of both, by forming a precedent and  
 “ generating a principle of mutual encroachment in times of  
 “ mutual difficulties.” And so it will be made when England is  
 in difficulty, and the more readily when she has not strength to  
 treat with contempt or scorn the assistance of the loyal portion of  
 the people of this country (much cheering).

#### FOURTHLY—BENEFITS DERIVED BY IRELAND FROM SELF- GOVERNMENT.

My next topic is, *that the most beneficial effects resulted to Ireland from her legislative independence.* That Ireland derived great benefits from her legislative independence, according to my fourth proposition, is certainly one of the topics upon which I ought not to detain the Assembly long; for no man can be found of sufficient age who must not recollect the prosperity of this country between the years 1782 and 1800. That prosperity was interrupted by the unhappy, wicked, and foolish rebellion of 1798; but during the intervening period any man who knows any thing of Irish history cannot deny that no country ever prospered so rapidly (hear, hear, and cheers). Her material interests flourished, in every direction her commerce was extended, her manufactures were encouraged and greatly augmented, the value of land increased, the rents higher, yet the tenants grew wealthy, (hear)—in fine, every thing prospered during this brief halcyon period to such a degree as Ireland never saw before, or shall ever see again until the Union is repealed. Do not take my word for it, for I have an authority of the highest description to bear out every assertion I have made respecting the prosperity of Ireland at that period. Mr. Pitt himself, too establishes the fact of this prosperity, and it is curious enough to see the line of argument which he adopted in order to commend the Union (hear, hear). He could not deny that Ireland prospered under her own parliament, that fact was too recent and too glaring to admit of denial, he accordingly framed his speech with another aspect. The speech to which I allude is that made by the right honourable gentleman in proposing the Union. It would have been very material for him in the course of his argument if he could show that Ireland had not prospered under her own parliament—it would have been most important for his purpose if he had been able to prove that she was in a worse state after she had achieved her independence than before it; it would have been a very strong topic in his favor to urge upon the people, as regarded the relation between the two countries, that the legislative independence of Ireland was followed by poverty, distress and

misery. But the facts were too powerful for him to wrestle with, and he was unable to meet them in that way. And what, therefore, was his reasoning?—"As Ireland," he said, "was so prosperous under her own parliament, we can calculate that the amount of that prosperity will be trebled under a British legislature" (a laugh). Let no man imagine I am misquoting, for I have the passage before me. He first quoted a speech of Mr. Foster's in 1785, in these words—"The exportation of Irish produce to England amounts to two millions and a-half annually, and the exportation of British produce to Ireland amounts to one million." Thus we exported two millions and a-half of manufactured goods into England and England imported into Ireland but one million. Was there ever so great a contrast as between that period and the present? But let me return to Pitt's speech. He gives another quotation from Foster, in which it is said—"Britain imports annually, 2,500,000*l.* of our products, all, or very nearly all, duty free, and we import almost a million of hers, and raise a revenue on almost every article of it," this relates to the year 1785. Pitt goes on to say—"But how stands the case now [1799]? The trade at this time is infinitely more advantageous to Ireland. It will be proved from the documents I hold in my hand, as far as relates to the mere interchange of manufactures, that the manufactures exported to Ireland from Great Britain in 1797 very little exceeded one million sterling (the articles of produce amount to nearly the same sum); whilst Great Britain, on the other hand imported from Ireland to the amount of more than three millions in the manufacture of linen and linen yarn, and between two and three millions in provisions and cattle, besides corn and other articles of produce." We have heard a great deal said of the advantage of an Union, by giving us English manufactures; but at that period Ireland sent England two millions five hundred thousand pounds worth of manufactured goods, all duty free—so that we received the full price, according to their value, without any drawback whatever. Thus Ireland was receiving by her custom duties alone a sufficient revenue for all the wants of the Irish government; that revenue was in the first instance paid by the English manufacturer whilst Ireland sent her own to England duty free. More than three millions in the manufacture of linen and linen yarns! Such was the progress which Ireland was making between the years 1785 and that period.

Were it not that the fact was established on the authority of Mr. Pitt, an authority so high and substantial as to be wholly incontrovertible, who is there in modern days, who, taking into consideration the present state of our country, could credit that there was a time when we enjoyed such commercial prosperity as had been described by the British Prime Minister? Oh! who

can blame me for sighing for the return of days so prosperous and so fortunate? or who is there who, having a heart to feel, or a mind to understand, can be surprised that I should devote all the energies of my being to the cause in which I am engaged, and that I should call upon my fellow-countrymen to forget their bygone feuds, and to join cordially with me, as of one accord, to procure the restoration of such a state of things? (loud cheering). I am full of hope and of confidence in the favourable result of the present discussion upon the fortunes of my country. The voice which I pour forth from this room will spread throughout the length and breadth of the land; and the sentiments to which I give utterance, being, as they are, congenial with the feelings of the masses of my fellow-countrymen, will find a ready response in every patriotic heart from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear—from Connemara to the Hill of Howth (cheers).

The documents which I bring forward, unquestionably authentic as they are, and worthy as they are of the highest credence, and the arguments with which I am endeavouring to maintain my case, cannot fail to bring conviction to every honest and enlightened mind; and most fondly do I hope that they will induce all classes of Irishmen, as well the Protestant and the Presbyterian as the Catholic, to unite for the good of their native land, and to remember that they are all alike Irishmen, and, as such are all alike deeply interested in the prosperity and welfare of their country (hear, hear). How often are we not told that it was the Union which opened for us the corn market of England? Yet we have it upon the testimony of no less a man than Pitt himself, that previous to the act of Union, we exported from our shores about three millions annually in provisions, &c. "The exportation of Irish produce," remarks William Pitt, in his speech introducing the Union in the English parliament, "amounts to more than two millions and a half annually, and the exportation of British produce to Ireland amounts to one million." But I will give the gentlemen on the other side a little more evidence upon this subject if they are not content with that which I have already produced (hear, hear, and cheers). Lord Clare made a speech in 1798, which he subsequently published, and in which I find this remarkable passage (hear), to which I beg leave to direct your particular attention:—"There is not," said his lordship, "a nation on the face of the habitable globe which has advanced in cultivation, in agriculture, in manufactures, with the same rapidity, in the same period, as Ireland" (viz., from 1782 to 1798). This was language emphatic and distinct, if ever there was emphasis in human language—and coming from the lips from which it emanated, it brings irresistible conviction with it. But my evidence does not stop there; for let me read for you the sentiments of Lord Grey, then Mr. Charles Grey, who, in the year

" 1799, expressed himself in the following terms :—" In truth,"  
 " said that nobleman, "for a period of more than forty years  
 " after the (Scotch) Union, Scotland exhibited no proofs of  
 " increased industry and rising wealth" (hear, hear). How often  
 are we told by those who would wish to perpetuate the degrada-  
 tion of Ireland, that it was a most advantageous circumstance  
 for Scotland that she was united with England and that she  
 derived great and immediate benefits from that measure ; but here  
 is strong evidence against this fallacious doctrine, for the noble  
 lord from whom I have quoted was distinct in declaring that for  
 a period of forty years after the Scottish Union the Scotch exhib-  
 ited no proofs of prosperity. Lord Grey, in continuation, stated  
 " that—" Till after 1748 there was no sensible advance of the  
 " commerce of Scotland. Several of her manufactures were not  
 " established till 60 years after the Union, and her principal  
 " branch of manufacture was not set up, I believe, till 1781. The  
 " abolition of the heritable jurisdictions was the first great measure  
 " that gave an impulse to the spirit of improvement in Scotland.  
 " SINCE THAT TIME THE PROSPERITY OF SCOTLAND HAS BEEN  
 " CONSIDERABLE, BUT CERTAINLY NOT SO GREAT AS THAT OF  
 " IRELAND HAS BEEN WITHIN THE SAME PERIOD." Here is an  
 admission which I am confident the most implacable of my adver-  
 saries upon this question will confess to be one of exceeding great  
 importance (hear). But strong and emphatic though this language  
 be, I do not intend to rely exclusively upon it for the establish-  
 ment of my position ; for I will give you more chancellors  
 (laughter), and will now refer you to Lord Plunket, who, in  
 giving a description of Ireland in a speech in parliament in 1799 ;  
 in one of his happiest efforts of oratory, speaks of her as of " a  
 " little island with a population of 4 or 5,000,000 of people,  
 " hardy, gallant, and enthusiastic—possessed of all the means of  
 " civilisation, agriculture, and commerce, well pursued and under-  
 " stood ; a constitution fully recognised and established ; HER  
 " REVENUES, HER TRADE, HER MANUFACTURES THRIVING BE-  
 " YOND THE HOPE OR THE EXAMPLE OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY  
 " OF HER EXTENT—WITHIN THESE FEW YEARS ADVANCING WITH  
 " A RAPIDITY ASTONISHING EVEN TO HERSELF ; not complaining  
 " of deficiency even in these respects, but enjoying and acknow-  
 " ledging her prosperity (hear, hear). She is called on to sur-  
 " render them all to the control of—whom ? Is it to a great and  
 " powerful continent, to whom nature intended her as an appen-  
 " dage—to a mighty people, totally exceeding her in all calculation  
 " of territory or population ? No ! but to another happy little  
 " island, placed beside her in the bosom of the Atlantic, of little  
 " more than double her territory and population, and possessing  
 " resources not nearly so superior to her wants."

I might rest here but my resources of reference are not yet

✓ exhausted, for I can adduce further evidence, and beg leave to direct your attention to a speech made by Mr. Hutton in the year 1810. I observed to you already that the Dublin corporation met to discuss this subject—and, at a quarter assembly which was held in the year in question, the debate was opened by Mr. Hutton, a gentleman connected with an establishment which was then, as it is now, one of the first in the city. Mr. Hutton's remarks were occasioned by the use of this expression—"the growing prosperity of Ireland;" and the language in which he conveyed his opinion was as follows:—"Some of us," said he, "remember this country as she was before we recovered and brought back our constitution in the year 1782. We are reminded of it by the present period. Then as now, our merchants were without trade, our shopkeepers without customers, our workmen without employment; then, as now, *it became the universal feeling that nothing but the recovery of our rights could save us.* OUR RIGHTS WERE RECOVERED; AND HOW SOON AFTERWARDS, INDEED AS IF BY MAGIC, PLENTY SMILED ON US, AND WE SOON BECAME PROSPEROUS AND HAPPY." Yes, recover your rights, and peace and liberty will again smile upon your land; recover your rights, and prosperity will again visit your shores; recover your rights, and misery will be banished from your soil, and happiness and contentment will once again be brought home to the hearths of yourselves and your countrymen (loud and long-continued cheering). Mr. Hutton saw the state of affairs in this country before the year 1782, when commerce was pining into decay, and a market could no longer be found for national industry; but he witnessed the mighty conquest which had been obtained by a high spirited and united people, and he was a witness to the magical effect which such a revolution had produced. He prophesied then that similar happy results would follow on a successful effort to recover our national rights; and I now presume to take upon myself the character of a prophet of hope, and after the lapse of many years, I stand on the same ground as Mr. Hutton, and reiterate his prediction with more abundant means for its realization (loud cheers).

Let me next adduce the testimony of a class of citizens who, from their position, and the nature of their avocations, were well calculated to supply important evidence on the state of Ireland, subsequent to the glorious achievements of 1782. The bankers of Dublin held a meeting on the 18th of December, 1798, at which they passed the following resolutions:—"Resolved—That since the renunciation of the power of Great Britain, in 1782, to legislate for Ireland, the commerce and prosperity of this kingdom have eminently increased." "Resolved—That we attribute these blessings, under Providence, to the wisdom of the Irish parliament." The guild of merchants met on the

14th January, 1799, and passed a resolution declaring—"That the commerce of Ireland has increased, and her manufactures improved beyond example, since the independence of this kingdom was restored by the exertions of our countrymen in 1782." And thus it would appear that men of all classes and denominations concurred with singular unanimity of opinion in their description of Ireland's prosperity and increasing affluence, after the memorable year in which her independence had been acquired.

I know how tedious and uninteresting to the generality of hearers is the display of statistics; but I trust you will pardon me for dwelling for a while upon the importance of certain statistical facts to which I would direct your attention. Mr. Spring Rice went to the trouble of diving very deeply indeed into the study of statistics, when he made the speech on which he so much plumed himself, in the discussion which took place upon my motion for the Repeal of the Union in the English House of Commons; and yet, elaborated though his calculations were, it was a rather remarkable circumstance that there should be between one of his accounts and another the difference of no less than six millions. A mere mistake, no doubt, of the pen, but a mistake, however, which, as far as it goes, tells in favour of England, and to the prejudice of Ireland. But Mr. Spring Rice is the inveterate enemy of his native land, and he has been accordingly promoted. He made a long, verbose, and fallacious speech against that question upon which, more than upon all others, the heart of his country is fixed. He is no longer Spring Rice, but my Lord Mounteagle, forsooth (laughter and cheers). Majestic bird, no doubt, yet in my opinion the fowl that begrimes its own nest is deserving of little praise or commendation from any quarter (cheers). He deserves my thanks, however, for he has supplied me with arguments for Repeal. From a table which has been made out by Mr. Rice, long before he had any notion the Repeal question would be agitated, and when, therefore, he had no motive for misrepresentation—a table which was appended to his Irish poor report—the relative increase in England and Ireland of the consumption of tea, tobacco, wine, sugar, and coffee, from 1785 to the Union, would appear to be as follows:

Tea.....	Increase in Ireland.....	84 per cent.
	in England.....	45 per cent.
	From 1786 to the Union.	
Tobacco....	Increase in Ireland.....	100 per cent.
	in England.....	64 per cent.
	From 1787 to the Union.	
Wine.....	Increase in Ireland.....	74 per cent.
	in England.....	22 per cent.



From 1785 to the Union.		
Sugar.....	Increase in Ireland.....	57 per cent.
	in England.....	53 per cent.
From 1784 to the Union.		
Coffee.....	Increase in Ireland.....	600 per cent.
	in England.....	75 per cent.

Nor should the character of these commodities be lost sight of. The increase in the consumption of tea is undoubtedly an evidence of prosperity, for it is an expensive article; and an augmented consumption proves that persons in the humbler classes, who formerly could not afford to purchase it, were gradually growing sufficiently affluent and prosperous to be enabled to enjoy that luxury. Tobacco also affords a fair test of the increase of social comforts, and of course of wealth—for it is essentially the poor man's solace; and as for sugar, it is a condiment which can be better relished than described (laughter). Its influence on the human frame is most healthful—so much so, that it was said to have banished from society leprosy; and, in fine, it is an article which people of all classes would willingly consume if they could but afford to enjoy it. And in all those articles—essentials of domestic comfort, as they might be termed—it will be seen by the calculations which I have just submitted, that the increase in consumption was in favour of Ireland from 1785 to the Union—a fact which necessarily implies the inference that during this period the amount of national prosperity was greater in Ireland than England. But now I come to a period subsequent to the Union—namely, to the period intervening between the years 1800 and 1827, and mark the striking contrast which the calculation I am now about to present affords to that which I have just cited for you. From another table, drawn out by the same hand, I find the respective consumption of tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, and wine, from the time of the Union to the year 1827, to be stated in the following manner:—

Tea.....	Increase in England.....	25 per cent.
	Increase in Ireland.....	24 per cent.
Coffee.....	Increase in England.....	1800 per cent.
	Increase in Ireland.....	400 per cent.
Sugar.....	Increase in England.....	26 per cent.
	Increase in Ireland.....	16 per cent.
Tobacco...	Increase in England.....	27 per cent.
	DECREASE in Ireland.....	37 per cent.
Wine.....	Increase in England.....	24 per cent.
	DECREASE in Ireland.....	45 per cent.

In the first calculation, the increase of consumption in these articles was, in a large, proportion, to the favor of Ireland; for,

during the period which that calculation embraced, Ireland enjoyed the blessings of a domestic legislature, and the comforts of her people were daily becoming more numerous, whilst their privations were daily disappearing. But, alas! how sad a contrast do not the facts present, when the calculation refers to a period when we could no longer boast of having the management of our own affairs! Then, indeed, the tables are reversed, and the calculation tells in favor of the English, and to the prejudice of our countrymen. Oh, baneful Union!—accursed Union!—how truly am I justified in denouncing it as the impoverisher of our lovely land, and the multiplied source of miseries which are increasing day by day and hour by hour; for, do not imagine that the disastrous influence of that fatal enactment ceased with the year 1827; it is still at its deadly work—it is still corroding the very vitals of the land; and it will continue to spread misery and wretchedness throughout the country, until Ireland rises like one man, and in the majesty of peaceful and constitutional, but patriotic combination, unites in demanding from England the restoration of that precious prerogative of which she has so basely plundered us (loud and long continued cheering).

I will conclude the discussion upon this branch of the question by reading for you the following quotation from a speech delivered by Charles Kendal Bushe, whose name assuredly ought to ensure for any thing he utters a good reception on the part of the gentlemen at the other side of the house (hear, hear). In denouncing England's intolerance of Ireland's prosperity, during the debates on the Union, the late Lord Chief Justice used the following language:—"I strip this formidable measure of all its pretensions and all its aggravations; I look on it nakedly and abstractedly, and I see nothing in it but one question—will you give up the country? I forget for a moment the unprincipled means by which it has been promoted—I pass by for a moment the unseasonable time at which it has been introduced, and the contempt of parliament upon which it is bottomed, and I look upon it simply as England reclaiming, in a moment of your weakness, that dominion which you extorted from her in a moment of your virtue—a dominion which she uniformly abused, which invariably oppressed and impoverished you, and from the cessation of which YOU DATE ALL YOUR PROSPERITY. It is a measure which goes to degrade the country, by saying it is unfit to govern itself, and to stultify the parliament by saying it is incapable of governing the country. It is the revival of the odious and absurd title of conquest; it is the renewal of the abominable distinction between mother country and colony which lost America; it is the denial of the rights of nature to a great nation *from an intolerance of its prosperity*." This is the language of no ordinary man—it is the language of one who

for eighteen years was Solicitor-General under the Tories, who for twenty years sat upon the bench as Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, but who, throughout the whole career of his long and eventful life never retracted one syllable of what he uttered upon this subject. He spoke not with the feigned zeal of one whose powers of oratory had been hired for the occasion; he was no hireling advocate—no paid servant. He was a member of parliament at the time, and in his character of a popular representative did not hesitate to describe in the colours of its native hideousness the nefarious project that was then in contemplation. Yes, Bushe was right. The inspiration of truth was upon his lips, and that was the secret of his eloquence. The Union was the denial of the rights of nature to a great nation; and if you are patriots, if you are men, you will labour with me for the recovery of those rights (great cheering.)

#### FIFTHLY—INCOMPETENCE OF THE UNION STATUTE.

✓ And now I come to my fifth proposition—namely, *the incompetence of the Irish parliament to annihilate the Irish constitution by the Union* (hear, hear).

I utterly deny the competency of the parliament to effectuate such a measure, and I have only to appeal to the ordinary principles of delegated authority to show that a parliament never could, and never can be justified in assuming to themselves such a right as was arrogated by the Irish parliament in passing the act of Union. Try the question by the rules of every day life. You employ a servant to manage your affairs, but not to supersede yourself. If you sent a servant with a horse to a fair with directions for him to sell it there, and that instead of obeying your orders he rode away with the horse, and converted the animal to his own purposes, he would be guilty of an actual felony. Now, of what is a parliament composed if not of the servants of the public—of men sent there by the people to represent the wants and wishes of the people? The servant cannot supersede the master—he is employed for the purpose of managing the master's business; and to admit the doctrine that he would be justified in turning the master's rights and property to his own purposes, would uproot the whole social system, and when applied to matters of government would of course be equally effective in producing a revolution in the civil state. The common sense of every man tells him that the delegate can never supersede much less destroy the principal.

Upon this subject I have the opinions of the highest authorities upon my side. Lord Grey (then Mr. Charles Grey) said in the British House of Commons—"Though you should be able to carry the measure, yet the people of Ireland would wait for an opportunity of RECOVERING THEIR RIGHTS, which they will say

were taken from them by force." This sentence does not I admit actually decide the point, it however, strongly implies that the rights of the people of Ireland could not be thus taken away from them.

But I can appeal to authority more potent by far than even Lord Grey to whose words I do not in the present instance attach paramount importance, for I can quote in favor of my position from Locke's celebrated treatise upon government, which was a class-book in college at the time that the hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Butt) was in the University. The testimony of such a man as Locke upon such a subject as the present must be of inconceivable importance; for Locke was a man cherished by the Irish Orange party—he was the apostle of the revolution of 1688, and was the writer who was most successful in rallying public opinion in favor of that revolution. To his writings is eminently due the consolidation of that most important political alteration, and to the work in particular which I now quote is that effect principally traceable.

This work was also a text-book in our University, until I am told a late period when it is said his book was dismissed from the college course on account, perhaps, of the piece of honesty of which he had been guilty, in giving expression to the following judgment:—"The legislature (he says) cannot transfer the power of making laws into other hands, for it being but a delegated power from the people, they who have it cannot pass it over to others. The people alone can appoint the form of the commonwealth, which is by constituting the legislature and appointing in whose hands that shall be; and when the people will have said, we submit and will be governed by laws made by such men and in such terms, nobody else can say other men shall make laws for them. The power of the legislature being derived from the people by a positive voluntary grant and institution, can be no other than what the positive grant conveyed, which being only to make laws and not to make legislatures, the legislature can have no power to transfer their authority of making laws, or to place it in other hands."

But if this authority be not of sufficiently modern date, what will you say to the words of William Saurin, the chief and champion of the Anti-Catholic party in Ireland, a man of first rate abilities, who actually governed by his councils that party, and through its means Ireland for more than twenty years. He also was another great favorite of my opponents, who declared—"You may make the Union binding as a law, but you cannot make it obligatory on conscience. It will be obeyed so long as England is strong, but resistance to it will be in the abstract a duty; and the exhibition of that resistance will be a mere question of prudence." And I am convinced that, in point of

prudence, I am now justified in making that exhibition (cheers). Resistance to the Union, said Saurin, will be in the abstract a duty; and I now call on you, gentlemen of the other side, to discharge that duty. If your monitor were now alive, and that those words were again to issue from his lips, you would not hesitate to obey his mandate, and in that case the rising of the morrow's sun would not be more certain than the Repeal of the Union.

Listen now to another great authority—Lord Chancellor Plunket. He, addressing the House of Commons, said—“Sir, I, in the most express terms, deny the competency of parliament to do this act. I warn you, do not dare to lay your hands on the constitution. I tell you, that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a mere nullity, and no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. I make the assertion deliberately. I repeat it. I call on any man who hears me to take down my words. You have not been elected for this purpose. You are appointed to make laws, and not legislatures—you are appointed to exercise the functions of legislators, and not to transfer them—you are appointed to act under the constitution, and not to alter it; and if you do so, your act is a dissolution of the government—you resolve society into its original elements, and no man in the land is bound to obey you. Sir, I state doctrines that are not merely founded on the immutable laws of truth and reason; I state not merely the opinions of the ablest and wisest men who have written on the science of government; but I state the practice of our constitution as settled at the era of the revolution; and I state the doctrine under which the House of Hanover derives its title to the throne. Has the king a right to transfer his crown? Is he competent to annex it to the crown of Spain, or any other country? No; but he may abdicate it, and every man who knows the constitution, knows the consequence—the right reverts to the next in succession. If they all abdicate, it reverts to the people. The man who questions this doctrine, in the same breath must arraign the sovereign on the throne as a usurper. Are you competent to transfer your legislative rights to the French Council of Five Hundred? Are you competent to transfer them to the British parliament? I answer—No! If you transfer, you abdicate; and the great original trust reverts to the people from whom it issued. *Yourselves you may extinguish, but parliament you cannot extinguish. It is enthroned in the hearts of the people—it is enshrined in the sanctuary of the constitution—it is as immortal as the island which it protects.* As well might the frantic suicide hope that the act which destroys his miserable body should extinguish his eternal soul! Again I therefore warn you. Do not dare to lay your hands on the constitution—it is above your powers.”

The eloquence of that passage is only equalled by its truth ; for as well might the frantic suicide hope that the act which destroys his miserable body should extinguish his eternal soul, as the bribed parliament of 1800 attempt to destroy the right of Ireland to a native legislature ; for it was as immortal as the island it protected, and that right exists in its full vigour to this day (loud cheers). British history is full of examples of the truth of that sentiment. A powerful usurper seized the reigns of government in England. He abolished the monarchy itself, and beheaded the monarch who filled the throne. Was that monarchy by that means extinguished ? No ; the right was in abeyance for a time—the soul slept for a period—but only for a period—and, accordingly, when a fitting opportunity came, the monarchy again revived by its own spontaneous act (hear, hear, and cheers). Was that done by act of any legislature ? No ; but by the inherent spirit of the constitution. In the same manner the usurper abolished the House of Lords ; and was it necessary, I ask, to revive that branch of the legislature by act of parliament ? I tell you not ; it revived as a matter of course ; the slumbering spirit of the constitution arose and called it again into existence. The same usurper abolished the House of Commons, and created in its stead the first Union parliament (a laugh). It is literally so. The monster, Cromwell, first invented and first put in practice a legislative Union between Ireland and Great Britain. When the King came to the throne, did it require an act of legislature to bring the House of Commons of England into existence ? No ; it revived as a matter of course ; and in the same way it shall revive in Ireland, and in a shape, too, which will be hailed with joy and exultation by every inhabitant of the land (much cheering). No, Sir ; the former Irish parliament had no such right of extinction. Our legislature is not dead, it only sleeps ; and as Grattan proclaimed that he sat by the cradle of Irish liberty, and followed its hearse to the grave ; so do I announce that it was not buried—that it was not dead—that it only sleeps : and, blessed be heaven, we are this day sounding the trumpet of its resurrection (much cheering).

#### SIXTHLY—THE UNION NO CONTRACT.

My next proposition is, that “ *the Union was no contract ; that it was no bargain ; that it was carried by the grossest corruption and the foulest bribery, to which were added every species of force, fraud, and terror* ” (hear, hear).

On this subject I should be wasting your time with proofs, as every body knows the crimes by means of which the Union was perpetrated. I should not continue on this subject, but that in my view the case would not be complete for the publication of these topics if it were not illustrated by what I wish to say with

relation to it. I do not think that any man could be found mad enough to say the Union was a contract or a bargain. I know no man so insane to make such an assertion (hear). If it were a contract, there should have been proper parties to the bargain. The Irish people were no parties; and, as even in our law courts, any instrument executed when a party is in *duress*, is void on that account; so did it happen, that when the Union was carried, the people of Ireland were in such a situation as to be incapable of resisting (hear, hear). We all remember the fatal history of that period; and I do not mean to recapitulate it for the purpose of exciting angry discussion, or to shock the prejudices of any class in the community (hear, hear). What was the state of Ireland when the Union was accomplished? A rebellion was fomented; an insurrectionary movement was encouraged; the traitors to the crown had been permitted to ripen and bring their treason to maturity. Let no man tell me it is not so. I have the authority of Bushe and Plunket that it was so; and what I set a higher value on, because it is more decisive, I have the evidence which comes out of the hands of the then existing government. The Irish House of Commons in 1798 had a secret committee appointed to inquire into the facts and circumstances connected with the rebellion (hear, hear, hear). The report of that committee was published, and I take my authority from it (hear, hear). I say the Irish government cherished and fomented treason at that dreadful period, and allowed the traitors to go at large with impunity for a time, in order that that treason might ripen into an extinguishable rebellion (hear, hear, hear). That is a serious charge made by me (hear, hear). I made it before, and I will tell you the evidence to support it. My lord, I find that treason was first hatched in Ulster; that an armed organization was first commenced in that province, and was there alone successful to any extent. A meeting of nine colonels of the United Irishmen took place once a fortnight in the town of Balinahinch, in the county Down, a place where a battle was fought afterwards. One of these colonels was found to be a double traitor—his name was Maguan—had not only that military rank, but was also a member of the county Down Directory, and besides of the Ulster Chief Directory. He was a double-dyed traitor, in not only holding these military and civil offices in the treasonable Union, but also by being a spy for the government, receiving bribes for the purpose of communicating intelligence to the Rev. Dr. Clelland, a Protestant divine, who was a magistrate in that district. This clergyman also acted as land agent to Lord Londonderry, father to Lord Castlereagh. That traitor, Maguan, began his communications on the 14th of April, 1797, and at every meeting the colonels held he forwarded an account of the proceedings, and a list of the persons in atten-

dance, to the Rev. Dr. Clelland, who forwarded them to the Castle. He also sent a full account of all the proceedings, as well of the meetings of colonels as of the county and provincial committees, to the rev. gentleman, who regularly forwarded them to the Castle. He continued giving this information down to the latter end of May, 1798. The government could in the mean time have laid hold of all the colonels, and also the members of the committees, if they chose to do so—they could have apprehended his eight military companions, captains, committee men, and others of the parties, and they could have put an end to the conspiracy (hear, hear). Why did they not do it? It was their solemn duty to do so. In ordinary times they would have apprehended them all at once, and executed every man of them; and had it been done in that case, much human blood would have been spared, which afterwards unhappily deluged the land.

The country was obviously weakened by the rebellion, for the purpose of passing the Union, but they pulled the cord a little too tight and too long—for if other counties were driven to madness, as Wexford had been, that which was unfortunately a bloody rebellion would have been still more unfortunately a sanguinary revolution (hear, hear). What a horrible crime the rulers of that day committed! Can any one deny the fact? If so, I have the evidence of Nicholas Maguan, the colonel of the United Irishmen, I have alluded to, who was a member of the provincial and county committees; and I have the testimony of Lord (then Mr.) Plunket, who accused Castlereagh “of fomenting the embers of a lingering rebellion—of hallooing the Protestant against the Catholic, and the Catholic against the Protestant—of artfully keeping alive domestic dissensions for the purposes of subjugation” (loud cheering). The evidence relative to Maguan before the secret committee will be found in the Appendix No. 14 to that report (hear, hear). Here, my lord, is Bushe’s description of that same spirit; and, although I do not call it a confirmation of the passage I have read, I do so because it does not require any confirmation, and it cannot deceive us:—“The basest corruption and artifice,” he says, “were excited to promote the Union. “All the worst passions of the human heart were entered in the “service, and all the most depraved ingenuity of the human “intellect tortured to devise new contrivances for fraud.”

Though it was not necessary for my purpose to establish a case of fomenting the rebellion in the country, I have done so in the clearest and most satisfactory manner. It is, however, enough for me to be able to state, what no man can deny, that the rebellion had existence, and that it was fomented for the purpose of weakening and utterly destroying the energies of the country—that was so done to prevent that combination among the people which alone could enable them to resist an unjust aggression upon



their rights, and to prevent the total destruction of their legislative independence. Recollect, it was more than a man's life was worth to hold or attend a public meeting unless by permission; remember that during the entire time the question of the Union was before the Irish parliament, the *habeas corpus* act was suspended MARTIAL LAW WAS PROCLAIMED; there was no protection for human liberty (hear, hear); the trial by jury was superseded; court's-martial were in existence, bound by no rules of law or evidence having however power over limb and life. The use of torture was open and notorious. Upon mere suspicion unfortunate persons were subjected to the lash and to torture of the most excruciating and, harrowing description (hear, hear). No man dare attend a public meeting if the government chose to prevent him; the law was disregarded, the constitution violated, and everything done which the most wicked despotism could suggest in the absence of any legal protection (cries of hear, hear). That was the state of Ireland, and it was while she was thus prostrated—while her energies were crippled and her people under the lash—that the odious measure of the Union was carried. That was the state of the nation at large—there was no redress, no remedy, for all the sufferings which her people endured. I myself remember a gentleman from Kerry, a barrister, Mr. St. John Mason, who was hunted out of the country because he dared to put an address into a newspaper calling on the people of Kerry to petition against the Union—who was pursued to Roscrea, and afterwards committed to Kilmainham Gaol, where he lay for months for no offence but attempting to petition against the Union.

The amount of bribery was absolutely dreadful, and I may introduce that subject by a short passage of Mr. Grattan's who stated that Lord Castlereagh actually declared in the House of Commons "that he would carry the Union though it might cost more than half a million in mere bribes." His words, as reported by the same right honorable gentleman, are these—"Half a million or more were expended some years since to break "an opposition—the same, or a greater sum, may be necessary "now;" and Grattan added, "that Lord Castlereagh had said "so in the most extensive sense of bribery and corruption. The "threat was proceeded on—the peerage sold—the caitiffs of "corruption were every where—in the lobby, in the streets, on "the steps, and at the doors of every parliamentary leader, "offering titles to some, office to others, corruption to all."

But it really requires not the least evidence to establish the extent to which corruption was carried. The parliamentary papers published since that period have disclosed the astounding fact that one million two hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds were paid in the purchase of boroughs, and that more than a million had been expended on mere bribes. Bribery was uncon-

cealed ! The terms of the purchase were quite familiar in those days ; the price of a single vote was 8,000*l.* in money, or an appointment to an office worth two thousand a year if the parties did not choose to take ready money. Some got both for their votes, and no less than twenty peerages, ten bishoprics, one chief justice, and six puisne judges, were given as a price for votes for the Union. Add to this the officers who were appointed to the revenue, the colonels appointed to the army, the commanders and captains appointed to vessels in the navy, in recompense for Union votes—but I should detain you for days if I were to go through one third of the catalogue of bribes given on that occasion. Never in the history of any nation was so glaring, so profligate, so criminal a system adopted ; and yet, strange to say, with all this Lord Castlereagh was unable to carry the measure on the first occasion. There was a clinging to Ireland even amongst the profligate, and the first attempt to carry the Union failed. Castlereagh changed his hand, however, on the next occasion, and some of those who would not take money as a price of their votes consented to be paid for giving up their seats. These seats became mere nomination boroughs in the hands of the government, and the consequence was, that officers of the army and navy, totally unconnected with Ireland, were returned for those seats, and on the second occasion a majority was procured through the mere force of bribery, corruption, and profligacy (cheers).

It may be said, why did not the Irish people resist the fatal measure ? How could they ? When the high sheriff of the Queen's County called a meeting of his bailiwick in the town of Maryborough, to petition against the Union, he was met by Colonel Connor, with two regiments of infantry, and detachments of cavalry and artillery, by whom the meeting was instantly dispersed as the sheriff was about to take the chair (hear, hear.) Again, the high sheriff of Tipperary convened a meeting of the nobility, gentry, and freeholders of his county ; he took the chair, but he had been hardly ten minutes in the court house when it was filled with armed soldiery, who dispersed the meeting at the point of the bayonet (hear, hear). That was the conduct pursued at this eventful period ; corruption, bribery, force, fraud, and terror, were used, but still the people of Ireland struggled in every mode they possibly could (loud cheers). I will now, my lord, read a passage from a speech made by Lord Grey in the year 1800, on the repugnance of the Irish nation to the Union :—  
 “ Twenty-seven counties,” said his lordship, “ have petitioned  
 “ against the measure. The petition from the county of Down  
 “ is signed by upwards of 17,000 respectable independent men,  
 “ and all the others are in a similar proportion. Dublin petitioned  
 “ under the great seal of the city, and each of the corporations  
 “ in it followed the example. Drogheda petitioned against the

“ Union ; and almost every other town in the kingdom in like manner testified its disapprobation. Those in favor of the measure, professing great influence in the country, obtained a few counter petitions. Yet, though the petition from the county of Down was signed by 17,000, the counter petition was signed only by 415. Though there were 707,000 who had signed petitions against the measure, the total number of those who declared themselves in favor of it did not exceed 3,000, and many of these only prayed that the measure might be discussed. If the facts I state are true (and I challenge any man to falsify them), could a nation in more direct terms express its disapprobation of a political measure than Ireland has done of a legislative union with Great Britain ? In fact, the nation is nearly unanimous, and this great majority is composed, not of bigots, fanatics, or Jacobins, but of the most respectable of every class in the community.” You see, my Lord Mayor, that the corporation of Dublin in those days petitioned parliament against the Union. The people were not allowed to meet in public—they were dispersed by military force, and yet they signed petitions despite of every difficulty (hear and cheers). Have you or can you avail yourselves of an act of parliament like the act of Union ? or will you derive an advantage from the bribery and corruption which were practised on that occasion ? Yes, I stand on this ground. The title deed is signed—it was based on bribery, bigotry, fraud, and corruption—the Union between the parties was carried about at a period when one of them was in a state of total deprivation of legal power, of resistance, yet the immortal mind of the Irish people still lived in the breasts of those who petitioned against it (loud cheers). Must not those who support the Union consider themselves involved in the bribery of which was practised on that occasion ? and ought not they shudder at being placed in such a position—ought they not decline to take the benefit of these crimes, and become the administrators *de malis non* to Castlereagh and the faction who aided him in the commission of these enormities.

This language is not mine alone. I hold in my hand the tenth reason of the protest in the lords, to which I shall now call your attention—“ 10th. Because, when we consider the weakness of this kingdom at the time that the measure was brought forward, and her inability to withstand the destructive designs of the minister, and couple with the act itself the means that have been employed to accomplish it—such as the abuse of the place bill, for the purpose of corrupting the parliament ; the appointment of sheriffs to prevent county meetings ; the dismissal of the old steadfast friends of constitutional government for their adherence to the constitution ; and the return of persons into parliament who had neither connexion nor stake in this country,

“and were, therefore, selected to decide upon her fate—when we  
 “consider the armed force of the minister, added to his power  
 “and practices of corruption—when we couple these things together, we are warranted to say, that *the basest means* have been  
 “used to accomplish this great innovation, and that the measure  
 “of Union tends to dishonor the ancient peerage for ever ; to dis-  
 “qualify both houses of parliament, and subjugate the people of  
 “Ireland for ever. Such circumstances, we apprehend, will be  
 “recollected with abhorrence, and will create jealousy between  
 “the two nations, in place of that harmony which for so many  
 “centuries has been the cement of their union.”

There I have read for you a protest signed by eighteen peers and two bishops, in which they declare that the measure of the Union tended to dishonour the ancient peerage for ever, to disqualify both houses of parliament, and subjugate the people of Ireland for ever. I deny one assertion of the lords. I say they are wrong. I contend that Ireland is not subjugated for ever ; that the night of her thralldom is drawing to a close, and the day of her resurrection at hand (hear, and cheers).

Let me now request your attention to a description given by Plunket of the mode in which the Union was carried—“I will be  
 “bold to say, that licentious and impious France, in all the unrestrained excesses to which anarchy and atheism have given  
 “birth to, has not committed a more insidious act against her  
 “enemy than is now attempted by the professed champion of the  
 “cause of civilised Europe against a friend and ally, in the hour  
 “of her calamity and distress—at a moment when our country is  
 “filled with British troops, when the loyal men of Ireland are  
 “fatigued and exhausted by their efforts to subdue the rebellion  
 “—efforts in which they had succeeded before those troops  
 “arrived—whilst the *habeas corpus* act is suspended—whilst trials  
 “by court-martial are carrying on in many parts of the kingdom  
 “—whilst the people are taught to think they have no right to  
 “meet or to deliberate—and whilst the great body of them are so  
 “palsied by their fears, and worn down by their exertions, that  
 “even the vital question is scarcely able to rouse them from their  
 “lethargy—at a moment when we are distracted by domestic dissensions—dissensions artfully kept alive as the pretext of our  
 “present subjugation, and the instrument of our future thralldom.” There is something which bespeaks a foregone conclusion when we look to the military force in Ireland. In 1797, when Ireland was threatened with a rebellion, the military force in Ireland was but 78,995 ; in 1798, when a rebellion actually raged, it was 91,995 ; in 1799, after the rebellion was over, it was 114,052 ; and in 1800, two years after the rebellion, when the Union was carried, it increased to 129,258 soldiers, or what Lord Stafford called “good lookers on” (hear, and laughter).

My lord, I believe no position can possibly be more untenable than an advocacy of the means by which the Union was carried. I am safe in saying, they were the foulest and basest that ever degraded the nation against whose liberties they were used, or disgraced the monsters by whom they were employed (loud and long continued cheering).

SEVENTHLY—EVIL RESULTS OF THE UNION.

My lord, my next proposition is,—“*That the Union has produced the most disastrous results in Ireland.*”

The disastrous results of the Union were of two descriptions—first, evils inherent in such a measure, and the other evils resulting from it as a consequence, by reason of the nature of the government it created. My first objection to the Union as it stands, although it may seem contradictory in terms, is, that the Union is no union between the two countries. There was an union created between the legislatures in consequence of one being absorbed in the other. Such a Union as Lord Byron so properly described as “a union between the shark and his prey.” But there was not and there is not any union between the two nations. Are we any more English than we were, or the English any more Irish? (loud cries of hear, hear, hear). Is not the distinction as broad as ever? Are not English prejudices as rife? Are not English interests and Irish interests as separate and distinct as those of France and Spain? Is there any toleration even for any Irishman who prefers his country to his prospects of promotion? Have I not myself experienced its effects in my own person? (hear, hear). Is not the yell of horror which greeted me some time since still ringing in my ear—still sounding as if it were at a distance, and not the less disgusting because it is more remote? (hear, hear). Who will be found rash and absurd enough to assert that there is an identity of interests between England and Ireland, or that the relation between the countries is any other than that of master and servant, shark and prey? Is there any anxiety evinced on the part of the English House of Commons to treat Ireland as an equal ought to be treated—to grant her equal laws and similar institutions? Surely not. No desire is ever evinced to make the laws for the two countries upon the same footing; on the contrary, it never yet was in contemplation to bring forward a popular measure in the British parliament that it was not said, “You may give it to England, you may give it to Scotland, but beware how you give it to Ireland” (hear, hear). Such is literally the strain in which our legislators speak. If the two countries were in fact and reality united, would there be any distinction between Kent and Kerry, between Cork and York? Assuredly there would be no distinction; but no two places in the universe are more distinct and more dissimilar, one from the other, in the eyes of our legislators, than are Kentshire and the county

Kerry. Why should we be deceived by the fallacy of words, and suffer ourselves to be cheated into the belief that the countries are united, because, forsooth, there is a parchment document, called an act of Union, in existence between us? We have separate interests—we have separate legislation (every day's experience proves it)—and it must be apparent to all that there is no identification. So far from the Union rendering the connexion between the two countries more amicable, its necessary tendency is to aggravate and embitter all causes of dissension and differences—to give to every inequality of right, to give to every final injustice an envenomed malignity which could not exist if we had our own parliament. How little of the statesman's mind must not that man have that cannot see that an Irish parliament would take off from England the blame of every evil it could not cure. At present every misfortune Ireland endures is traced by the people to the Union. Even the results of the seasons and the consequences of natural causes are attributed to the Union. We endure so many calamities from that measure, that we attribute all to it. Is this a safe state of mind for the Irish nation to remain in? Is it wise, is it prudent to leave this rancour festering in the heart's core of the people of Ireland? (hear, hear).

But to return, let us reflect how basely we have been plundered of the dearest prerogative which can appertain to a nation. If we have a spark of patriotism or manhood in our bosoms, will we not exert ourselves of one accord to restore to our country the dignity of a nation? Listen to the eloquent language in which Bushe cautioned his countrymen against this diabolical enactment—"You are called upon to give up your independence—and to whom are you called upon to give it up? To a nation which for six hundred years has treated you with uniform oppression and injustice. The treasury bench startles at the assertion—*non meus hic sermo est*. If the treasury bench scold me, Mr. Pitt will scold *them*—it is his assertion in so many words in his speech. Ireland, says he, has been always treated with injustice and illiberality. Ireland, says Junius, has been uniformly plundered and oppressed. This is not the slander of Junius, nor the candour of Mr. Pitt—it is history. *For centuries has the British parliament and nation kept you down, shackled your commerce, and paralysed your exertions, despised your characters, and ridiculed your pretensions to any privileges, commercial or constitutional.* SHE HAS NEVER CONCEDED A POINT TO YOU WHICH SHE COULD AVOID, OR GRANTED A FAVOUR WHICH WAS NOT RELUCTANTLY DISTILLED. THEY HAVE BEEN ALL WRUNG FROM HER LIKE DROPS OF HER BLOOD; and you are not in possession of a single blessing (except those which you derive from God) that has not been either purchased or extorted by the virtue of your own parliament from the illibera-

"lity of England." Oh ! let the people of Ireland know—let it be proclaimed from north to south, from east to west, that the man who uttered these words which now form a portion of our national history, who quoted Junius and William Pitt in support of his position, and who added the authority of his own name and character beside to the opinion which he propounded, that that man was eighteen years Solicitor-General, and twenty years a Lord Chief Justice under a Tory administration. Has he falsely criminated England ? has he uttered a vile and detestable calumny against the sister country ? If so, scorn him, scoff him, thrust him ignominiously from his office, banish him from the society of enlightened and civilised men ; or if it be now too late to cut the seal from off his patent, at all events deprive the miserable old man of his pension, and suffer him not to enjoy the dignities and emoluments of an honourable retreat, which, if this charge be true, he must have disgraced and dishonoured. But no ; the charge against him can never be substantiated. Bushe was no slanderer ; he was no calumniator : he told no lie ; he uttered words which were dictated by the very spirit of truth ; and the woeful experience of forty years had only served to show how just was the view which he took of this measure, and how practically had all the evils which he has predicted come to pass.

Shall I ever get through the woeful tale of the disastrous consequences which have followed from the act of Union ? No. If I were to commence with the first dawn of daybreak, and not to cease until the lamps were lighted, I would despair of being able to dispose of one-half the materials which I have prepared to show how we have suffered from the Union. In the dozen lines of Charles Bushe is comprised an epitome of the whole Irish history ; and much I fear that time will but add new horrors to the facts which his brilliant eloquence so forcibly denounced.

Let me begin, I accuse the Union of this in the first place, that it takes the right of self-government from us, and that is the greatest evil which can be inflicted upon a people. It is a double evil. It furnishes the country which takes that right away, with opportunities of tyranny and misrule ; and it debases the character of the despoiled nation into that of slave—for this truth is as old as Homer—that the hour which makes a man a slave robs him of half his worth. The man so treated is scorned by all freemen, but, in his own opinion, he endures a degradation which thought is unable to conceive or language to describe. The want of self-government is derogatory to the personal and individual dignity of every man in the country (hear). And I really pity the man who does not feel that he is degraded by forfeiting his share in the management of the affairs of his native country. My second objection to this odious enactment is, that it has deprived us of our judicial independence, as well as of other rights and pre-

rogatives which should characterise a free nation. If we had a parliament of our own we could enjoy the advantage of making laws for the Irish, being at the time, in the full knowledge of the wants, wishes, and capabilities of our people. Irishmen having the deepest interest in the peace and prosperity of Ireland would have the making of our laws. We would, moreover, be able to exercise a salutary and constitutional control over the actions of our judges, nor would it be necessary for us to appeal to a foreign tribunal against any judicial decision. And indeed in the province of the law, England is day by day making encroachments upon the rights of this country. Session after session they are making their barristers attorneys of our courts, that they may do the fiscal business here, and enjoy the honors and emoluments which should only be enjoyed by Irish practitioners. They are extending their equity jurisdiction hourly, and I venture to predict that if the Irish people do not exhibit a positive determination to defend their rights and liberties, the day is not far distant when scarcely a suit that can be heard in England will be decided in Ireland (hear). Some of our merchants of Galway or Belfast will, ere long, receive summonses to proceed to London, in order to defend themselves there upon some trial for the recovery of a promissory note for 50*l.*, or some such sum, in a transaction which took place in Ireland, and to which all the parties are Irishmen. To this complexion it will come at last, if the present state of things be permitted to continue. How pure would be the fountains of justice—how upright and exemplary would be the conduct of our law authorities, if we had a native parliament to superintend and check the course of judicial proceedings! There would be then no political preachers, such as Lord Abinger, upon the bench; but every judge would study to model his conduct according to the strictest rule of propriety, knowing that there was a living public opinion which watched his conduct, in the shape of a domestic senate. But I have dwelt at sufficient length upon this branch of the topic.

The next iniquity of the Union consists in the financial robbery of Ireland by that measure, I will not enter with any minuteness into its details, but will leave this portion of the question in the hands of my able friend Mr. Staunton, who, I am confident will render it every justice (hear). I may be allowed, however, to make just one passing remark upon the subject. About the year 1794 Ireland owed seven millions of money; in the year 1799 Ireland owed fourteen millions of money; and when the hon. and learned gentleman at the other side comes to vituperate the Irish parliament, let him remember this fact at all events, that whereas the national debt of England was increased by the English parliament to at least 350 millions, the Irish parliament managed our monetary affairs with such judgment that the national debt of Ireland only amounted to fourteen millions (hear, hear). Give



me the parliament which will not let the government go into debt, for such conduct betokens on its part sound discretion, good sense, and an affectionate solicitude for the interests of the people. One of the items which swelled up the national debt of Ireland after the Union was a sum of one million two hundred and seventy five thousand pounds for buying the boroughs in Ireland. Now, I put it to any man of integrity, no matter what his politics, to say was it fair, was it decent to charge us with such an item as this (laughter)? Was ever any thing ever heard more monstrous or audacious than that we should be made to pay the wages of the political depravity of those who deprived us of our dearest rights? We are actually charged with a second million of money for the bribes for which our liberty was bought and sold; but England, if she had a particle of shame or decency, ought to have taken that debt upon herself.

At the time of the Union, Ireland owed 21 millions—England, 446 millions. What were the terms of the Union? They were these—that England was to bear for ever the burden of these 446 millions, and consequently for its interest and charge the burden of a separate taxation of seventeen millions annually, and that Ireland was not to be charged with that 446 millions at all for its principal or interest. But were these conditions complied with? No, of course they were not, and Ireland now owes every penny of that stupendous sum (hear, hear). You are charged with every fraction of it, and, notwithstanding all the distinct promises of Castle-reagh, your lands, your properties, your labours, your industry, all, all, are liable to one mortgaged for the debt. The notable mode proposed for the equalisation of the debts of the two countries was this—England was to go on paying off her debt until it reached the level of the Irish sum; and this consummation, so devoutly to be wished, was to be achieved through the instrumentality of the sinking fund (hear, hear, and laughter). But this was only a portion of the juggle; for it is clear that all they wanted was to squeeze as much as they could out of us. I will give you some more of their squeezing. If the Union had been a just and equitable compact, the respective debts should have continued in the same proportion. This, however, was an arrangement too manifestly upright and honest to find countenance with them for a moment; and accordingly Ireland was inflicted by such an indecent spoliation as exposed her to the ridicule of the world. If, when I was a practising barrister, a deed of partnership were brought to me for legal perusal, and that on looking over it I found that the party who was assenting to the deed was a man owing twenty-one thousand pounds, who purposed going into partnership with a man owing four hundred and forty-six thousand, and that he was to undertake the liabilities of that partner by virtue of the deed, would I not be inclined to in-

quire of the attorney in a confidential tone, "Is our poor client on his way to Swift's Hospital?" And shall it be said that what is insanity in private life is to be regarded as a rational action when the parties are two countries (hear, hear)? It was proposed by Castlereagh and Pitt to equalise the debt, by paying off the greater part of the English debt; but how was the equalisation carried out? Why, by borrowing large sums of money on the account of Ireland. Curran had truthfully declared that the Union would prove in reality to be nothing more or less than a participation in the taxation of England, without her commercial advantages or civil liberty; and he had foreboded that the Irish members, sleeping in their cellars under the manger of English corruption, would never more think of the duties they owed their country. In some cases this prophecy was verified with but too great accuracy; yet there was one member who presented a splendid exception to the general rule—Sir John Newport—who, in a speech delivered in the year 1822, expressed himself in the following language:—"Ever since the Union, the imperial parliament had laboured to raise the scale of taxation in Ireland as high as it was in England, and only relinquished the attempt when they found it was wholly unproductive. For twelve years he had remonstrated against this scheme; and had foreseen the evils resulting from it, of a beggared gentry and a ruined peasantry. Ireland had four millions of nominally increased taxes, while the whole failed as a system of revenue, and the people were burthened without any relief to the treasury, (hear, hear). It would be found, as it was in some other countries, that the iron grasp of poverty had paralysed the arm of the tax-gatherer, and limited in this instance the omnipotence of parliament. They had taxed the people; but not augmented the supplies; they had drawn on capital—not income; and they, in consequence, reaped the harvest of discontent, and failed to reap the harvest of revenue." Lord Lansdowne, also, in making a motion on the state of Ireland in the same year, said—"The revenue in 1807 amounted to 4,378,241*l*. That between that year and 1815, additional taxes had been imposed, which were estimated to produce 3,376,000*l*.; and that so far from an increase to the revenue having been the result, there was a great decline—the revenue in 1821 having been only 3,844,889*l*., or 533,000*l*. under the amount before the imposition of three millions and a half of new taxes. He had, on a former occasion, stated it to be his opinion that the repeal of the taxes in Ireland would tend mainly to the revival of manufactures in that country, and bringing it into a prosperous condition. It was objected to him on that occasion, that he sought, by giving large and exclusive advantage to Ireland, to raise her up into a manufacturing country, which should make

“her the rival of England and Scotland. While he disclaimed “any such intention, he feared Ireland was far indeed from any “such state of prosperity.”—(*Hansard, volume XI., page 659*). How exceedingly kind and considerate was this declaration on the part of the noble lord to disclaim all intention to raise this our country to the position of a rival to England and Scotland, Oh no—he was not so insensible to English and Scotch interests, as even to think of making Ireland a rival in commerce. He did well to disclaim any such foolish love of justice for Ireland. How his disclaimer proclaims a feregone conclusion! Are we then, my countrymen, to be such vile slaves, to leave it to a foreign and ungenial parliament power to decide whether we are to drag on a wretched existence in pitiful beggary, or to assume the proud position of rivals to any country in creation? Let us not shrink from the noble duty of placing our country in that enviable position. Oh! if I could only make you sensible—you gentlemen who oppose me—of the contrast between your present condition and the undying glory which would beam around your names, if, instead of making common cause with the men who would have enthralled your lovely land, you would combine together as of one accord to restore her to her original proud position, and to rank her once more amongst the nations of the earth, there is not one of you, I feel convinced, who would not join me heart and hand in the struggle in which I am engaged, (much cheering).

The next ground on which I object to the Union is this, that it delayed the achievement of Catholic Emancipation for nearly thirty years. It kept the country in a ferment of political and sectarian strife—the elements of society all confounded and uprooted by the bad passions engendered by religious discord—Passions which kept alive feelings of rancour and hostilities between man and man—Passions which prevented Catholic and Protestant from knowing each other, and from entering into that congenial and sociable communication of feeling which is so well calculated to promote civilization, and dispel bigotry. But for the Union we should have been emancipated by our Protestant fellow countrymen long before. In 1778 they restored the Catholics to the equal enjoyment of all property they then held, and enabled them to acquire long terms for years in lands. In 1782 the Irish Protestants restored the Catholics to the capacity of acquiring every species of freehold property, and to enjoy it equally with Protestants. In 1792 and 1793, the learned professions were to a certain extent opened to Catholics—the grand jury box—the magistracy—partial rank in the army, were all conceded by the Irish Protestants to their Catholic fellow countrymen. But greatest of all the elective franchise was restored.

Under these circumstances but for the Union, full and complete Emancipation would have been conceded before 1803. If

it were no otherwise useful, would not justice being rendered us by Protestant Irishmen, have quelled all feelings of bygone hostility, and endeared those men to us whom the fatal Union left in hostile array against us for almost thirty years. If we had got Catholic Emancipation from our brother Protestants in 1803, in the same manner as the concessions which were made in 1778, 1782, and at other subsequent periods, what a cordial glow of kindly feeling, and what delightful unanimity of sentiment would have pervaded all classes of the community; but this, alas! was not the case, and the Catholics were by the Union left to struggle for Emancipation as best they might, through many a long and wearisome year (hear). In spite of the Union we have now achieved that measure, and I triumph in the achievement. Bushe said that we never got anything from England except in the season of her distress; and full many a time and oft have I adduced evidence to prove the soundness of the doctrine; but there was one occasion when we fought her foot to foot while she was in her palmy prosperous days—while the hero of a hundred battles, and the wildest statesman of modern times, presided over her councils, and upon that occasion we obtained a glorious victory, and successfully asserted the rights of liberty and conscience (loud cheering).

Remember that in our present contest we have a double advantage (hear, hear). We have the precedent of that successful, moral combination by which we succeeded in a glorious struggle for emancipation, and we have that opportunity arising out of England's weakness which so repeatedly has been the means of obtaining for us relief. My next objection to the Union is this—It was one gigantic swindle (cheers and laughter). If it had been a fair compact, we ought to have had our just share in the representation in the English parliament; but this measure of justice was refused to us; and although 200 of the Irish members were struck off, not one of the English members was removed. It was just such a game as children sometimes played at school, where the terms were "head I win, harp you lose" (cries of hear, hear, and laughter). This is a point that has not been sufficiently urged—if Ireland was to be united to England, England was equally to be united to Ireland. It follows that if the one should have made a sacrifice so should the other. Ireland being deprived of 200 members, Britain ought to have given up 300. At all events Britain ought to have made room for the 100 Irish members who remained by the lessening her members in that number. But nothing of the kind was done, Ireland lost every thing, gained nothing, England sacrificed nothing—gained every thing. It was indeed a magnificent swindle (much cheering).

You may well ask how the number of 100 was fixed on—It was thus—and here a small swindle came in aid of the great one. Lord Castlereagh made the calculation thus—he said that in the

relative population of the two countries, taking it that Great Britain had 558, that from the comparative population of Ireland she was entitled to 202 members, for exports 100, for imports 93, for revenue 39, making in all 434, and taking the mean of these quantities it makes  $108\frac{1}{2}$ . We could very well afford to do without the half if they gave us 108, yet he made the number only 100; he proved to demonstration that we had a right to 108, and he proved to demonstration his political knavery by striking off the eight, merely because he chose it (hear, hear). In an able work published by Mr. Newenham, he showed that Lord Castlereagh designedly omitted one ingredient, and that ingredient is rental. He Mr. Newenham, justly made his calculation thus—he allows for comparative population 228, for exports 179, for imports 168, for revenue 85, for rental 186, making 846, and the mean of those five quantities is  $169\frac{1}{2}$ . In this country, where the basis of representation is founded on property and population combined, Lord Castlereagh should have introduced the rental, and if he did, we would have 169 members, and yet we were deprived of 69 of them because Lord Castlereagh chose it (hear, hear). Now, I made those calculations on the same simple basis when the reform bill was before the house, and brought them before the house, and urged them as strongly as I could; but I urged them in vain; they did not condescend to reply to me, and that was their safest course. I should state that, in 1821, the population as between England and Ireland was in round numbers twelve millions to England, and seven millions to Ireland. I showed that the Irish revenue in that year was something more than one-eighth of that paid by England, and, therefore, taking the population and the revenue as the ingredients of representation, which is a just and constitutional principle to act upon, I found that the relative population should give us 291 members; and that the revenue, taken at one-eighth, though it was nearer to one-seventh, would give us 62 members, thus making a total of 353 members, and the one-half or mean of those quantities gave Ireland a clear right to 176 members (hear). I challenged every body to show me any defect in that calculation. One of the returns from the revenue shows that Ireland paid 500,000*l.* duty upon tea, all of which was credited to the English revenue. I went into details in my last calculation. In 1831 the population returns gave to Ireland 8,000,000 and to England 13,000,000 of inhabitants. The revenue credited to Great Britain was 48,325,215*l.*, out of which I deduct 500,000*l.* amount of duty paid on teas in Ireland which was but ought not to be credited to the English revenue, and that, with 1,000,000*l.* for other articles in a similar situation consumed in Ireland, left the real revenue of Great Britain 46,825,897*l.*; amount of revenue credited to Ireland 4,560,897*l.*, to which add the above 1,500,000*l.*, and it made the actual Irish

revenue 6,060,897*l*. Now, suppose the Irish revenue to be one-tenth, instead of being what it really was, one-eight, the calculation for members would have stood thus—at the time of the passing of the reform bill Ireland for population would be entitled to 307 members; for revenue say one-tenth, 50; that would make 357, and the mean of these two would entitle Ireland to 175 members; and observe, in all these calculations I have taken the British parliament at 500 only, instead of 558, being the most unfavorable way for Ireland. Thus the iniquity of the Union is manifest in every point of view we look at it (loud cries of hear, hear). The English parliament had an opportunity of amending the error and expiating this crime at the time of the reform in parliament, but they did not do so. I not only raised my voice on behalf of Ireland, but attended public meetings and published letters in the newspapers, in which I stated those facts. I combined those letters in the shape of a pamphlet, and went to the expense of printing it for every member of the house, but all in vain—I might as well be throwing stones against the wind, or whistle jigs to a milestone (laughter). That is not a very elegant simile, but still it is a true one, for I might as well do that as endeavour to force on the dull, cold ear of English legislation the rights and liberties of the Irish people.

I may now mention the effect in particular localities—in Wales the population is 800,000—in Cork the rural population is 713,716. How are they respectively represented in parliament? Wales, with its 800,000 inhabitants, has twenty-eight members of parliament; the county of Cork, with nearly the same population, has but two members of parliament: the county Mayo, with 400,000 inhabitants, has but two members of parliament: Wales, with 800,000 inhabitants—only double the number—has 28 members of parliament. The people of Ireland don't know these things, but I will take care they shall know it, and I anticipate easily the result. I will just give you another specimen. I will take five counties in each country to show you how the representation stands. Cumberland, with a population of 126,681, has four members; the county of Cork, with a population of 713,716, has but two members. Leicestershire, with a population of 197,276, has four members. Tipperary, with a population of 390,598, has but two members. Northampton, with a population of 179,276, has four members. The county of Down, with a population of 337,571, has but two members. Worcestershire, with a population of 211,356, has four members. The county of Galway, with a population of 381,407, has but two members. Wiltshire, with a population of 239,181, has four members. Tyrone, with 302,945 has but two members. That is to say, five English counties with a population less than a million—that is, with a population amounting to 953,770—have twenty members; and five Irish counties, with a population of 2,116,177, have only ten represen-

tatives (hear). That is a shame and a crime, and cannot be endured (hear).

We should deserve our own degradation—we should deserve the shame and scorn of the Union—Irish mothers for the first time blush for your sons, if they endure this contumely. Youth of Ireland, admit that it is the ichor of insects that runs in your veins, and not the red blood of coming manhood, or elevate your fair fronts and raise the ready arm to protest before the world and its adorable Creator that you can die but cannot live in admitted inferiority to any other human beings (long continued cheering). I have a similar objection to make to the limited number of electors in Ireland when compared with England. We ought, if we really had an Union, have the same number of electors in proportion to the general population that England has, and it cannot be called a union without that. A union should mean that we had equality and an identity of privileges with the people of England, and we could not have an identity of privileges without an equality of the elective franchise. Now, let me show you the number of electors in six counties. Westmoreland, with a rural population of 43,464, has 4,392, registered electors. Cork, with a rural population of 713,716, has 3,835 registered electors. Bedford, with a rural population of 88,524, has 3,966 registered electors. Antrim, with a rural population of 316,909, has 3,487 registered electors. Herdford, with a rural population of 95,977, has 5,031 registered electors. Galway, with a rural population of 381,564, has 3,061 registered electors. It would be wasting time to go further, and I only mention those things because I am not arguing simply with you. I am arguing with the people of Ireland, commencing with this corporation, and I call on them to rouse and exert themselves for the resurrection of their country. They may endure injuries—but they can not tolerate these insults for they convey degradation to us as men, and especially Irishmen.

There is another point on which I complain of the Union, and it is one that I shall discuss with great brevity; it is the insulting measure of corporate reform that has been inflicted upon us in consequence of the Union. Why should we not, if there be a Union, have the same corporate privileges as the Scotch? Why should we not have the same corporate privileges as the English? If there was a Union in reality, we should have the same corporate privileges as England and Scotland, but we have not, and yet they call that a Union, which gives them much, and which gives us little or nothing. Is that a Union or a combination of the countries? If you invited a man to your table, and had splendid turtle soup and venison at the head, would you think it Irish hospitality to give him a scrag of mutton at the foot of the table (laughter)? and I ask, will we, in Ireland, where no gentleman would be guilty of such paltry conduct, patiently endure that such

an injury should be inflicted upon us? If we had in reality a Union, they would give us the same reform bill that was given to England and Scotland, and we earned it from them. Were it not for the assistance given them by the Irish members, they would never be able to carry the English reform bill. There was a majority of English members against the passing of the bill; there was a majority of Scotch members against it; but it was carried in the second reading by a majority of the Irish members, which not only compensated for the English and Scotch majorities, but afforded beyond that compensation a majority in favor of the measure (hear). We were deserving of gratitude, and we were treated with contumely; we were entitled to thankfulness, and we were rewarded with contempt (hear, hear).

The next iniquity I charge upon the Union is one of a gigantic quality and that is, *that it compels the majority of the Irish nation to support the church of the minority*. You, gentlemen (addressing the Conservative members), may think that it is one of its blessings, but I think it is one of its inflictions (hear). I know this, that such a system does not prevail in England or Scotland: for in both those countries the church of the majority of the people is the endowed church. I do not want her endowments for the Church to which I belong. I do not want—Heaven forbid!—to strip any man of vested interests, whatever they be; but subject to the vested interests, and the total refusal of them by the church to which I have the happiness to belong, and which would be only tarnished by state pay, and defiled by state power, I claim, for the purposes of charity and education, those funds, that ought not to be given to the church of the minority in any country (hear). Let the people of England recollect this for one moment: the Catholics of England amount now to almost more than the proportion that the Irish Protestants bear to the Irish nation, and would the English people endure that English ecclesiastical revenues should be handed over to the clergy of the Catholics of England? I would despise you, much as I respect you, as individual gentlemen, if you consented to it (hear, hear, hear). I would abhor myself if I consented to it; and, in the spirit of justice, I would apply to England, if there be a real union between the countries, that the Church temporalities should be ameliorated by a higher order of application (loud cries of hear, hear, hear.)

The next evil is one resulting from the Union in which you must all concur with me. It is this, that all the offices in the law, revenue, excise, and government, in all its relations, should not be filled as they are at present, but should be filled by Irishmen (hear). Irishmen should be found every where; in every office in Ireland there might be a chance Saxon or Scotchman admitted, but the general rule should be to give those offices to Irishmen (hear, hear). The Scotch have a proverb, "Scotch fish guts for Scotch sea mews." Now, I would not go that length; but I



do insist that nothing can be more disastrous than giving the offices the people of Ireland pay for to foreigners of any kind (hear, from the Conservative benches). I knew this was a chord that I could touch you on (laughter). Have you not an English Chancellor, and tell me would we have an English judge in Ireland if we had the Repeal of the Union? English barristers have been turned into attorneys, that they may do the English fiscal business in this country (hear). I was not sorry to hear the cry that was raised against the appointment of Lord Campbell as Lord Chancellor, and I wish I heard it re-echoed when another complacent, mild, and gentlemanlike individual was appointed (laughter)—an individual who seems so well to understand the feelings of the Irish people, and who is so meek, and mild, and complacent as he is (laughter). There is one thing I give him credit for, and it is this, he is indiscriminate in his treatment of the bar; he is not a bit more partial to one party than another, instead of that being to my mind a recommendation in his favor, I have a sufficient professional spirit about me bitterly to regret that the talent and cultivated taste of men desiring to lead the Irish bar should all be subject to the rude process of contumely (hear, hear). But to return to the subject to which I was adverting; all those offices are at present filled by Englishmen or Scotchmen; if, for example, you go down to the custom-house, you will hear nothing there but the clip of the English tongue or the Scotch accent, half swearing, half praying (laughter). Oh! let us have Irishmen for Ireland without any distinction but that to which their talents and merits entitle them to. I am glad I have found one subject we are all agreed on, and I need not dwell more upon it (general applause).

There is another point upon which I think we will also agree, and that is the disastrous effects of the Union in encouraging absenteeism. Absenteeism is necessarily compelled by the Union to increase. In the year 1782 the absentee rents were under a million—in the year 1842 they exceeded five millions. I have taken them at four millions, but I have reason to know that they exceeded five millions. At first the English nobleman who had estates in Ireland resided in England; our Irish noblemen followed his example; it next spread to the large landed proprietors, and it has now spread to every expectant of government. Every man of 500*l.* a-year thinks now he may emigrate to England, and every man that supposes he has a claim on the government or a member of parliament goes off to London. I say that absenteeism alone would be a sufficient cause for condemning the Union; and I ask how far is it to go—where is it to stop? I defy you to state the limits of it, and there is nothing can put a stop to it but an Irish parliament in College-green (cheers). On the contrary, it is daily extending, and that which is one great blot on the history of the state economy of Ireland is, that nine-

tenths of its surface belong to absentees, and every thing will be shortly absentee but the serf tenant and the grinding land agent (hear, hear, hear).

Another grievance resulting from the Union is—that the surplus revenue of Ireland is also taken out of the country. If you had justice done to you, don't you see that in the interval that has elapsed since the Union you could have paid off your share of the debt? England, that has made you chargeable with her debt, could but for the Union, only make you chargeable with your own debt, and in less than ten years after the Peace if you had an Irish Parliament you would have every shilling of the debt paid off, and Ireland would be then the lowest taxed, as well as the most prosperous nation on the face of the earth. But at present there is at least a million and a-half of surplus taxation, which increases the absentee drain. The annihilation of your manufactures also increases your absentee drain; for the manufactures made in England, and paid for in England, are used in Ireland. Let me now take only six millions, between absentee and surplus revenue, and calculate that sum for the last ten years, and you will see that in that period we have been drained of sixty millions; and if the Union continue for the next ten years, you will be drained of sixty millions more. Recollect, then, if you Repeal the Union, that in ten years you will have sixty millions spent in Ireland that would be spent out of it (hear). Are you now surprised that the poor law commissioners reported that there were 2,385,000 destitute poor in Ireland (hear)? It is the natural results of the Union, and the strongest demonstration of its fatal effects—the most fruitful land on the face of the globe, the most industrious people: yet, sacred Heaven! 2,300,000 destitute! these people the epitome of the horrors resulting from the Union, more than two millions destitute, more than one fourth of the entire population, to meet this indescribable misery you have indeed a poor law taxing the poor to support the poor. If an Irish parliament passed a poor law, the landlord, then, would have to pay the poor rate, which would be fixed on his income according to its extent, and not on the occupiers (hear, hear). At present the poor are augmenting, the destitute are accumulating, and the poor rate is aggravating, instead of alleviating, our calamities. With these evils pressing on us, it is not prudent, it is not safe to continue this system, for you are only encouraging that which I deprecate, but which must be the result—namely, separation—if you don't repeal the Union (hear, hear, hear).

To illustrate the financial injustice of the Union still more I have now to produce a document to you, from which it appears that the annual amount of taxes repealed in England since the peace is 47,214,338*l.*, and the amount of taxes repealed in Ireland in the same period is 1,575,940*l.*, the taxes repealed or remitted in Ireland being one-thirtieth of those repealed or remit-

ted in Great Britain (hear). Here is another table, composed of the same materials, and coming out of the same shop, makes the quantity repealed in England only 41,085,202*l.*, but it leaves the quantity repealed in Ireland the same number as mentioned above or a little more—it makes it 1,584,211*l.* (hear). I use those documents to show the financial injustice inflicted upon this country by England. They have exonerated themselves from over forty-one millions annually, and they have only exonerated us to the extent of one million five hundred thousand per annum, and our remaining burthen are made one-thirteenth more than it ought by our paying our taxes in British instead of Irish currency.

I now come to the last head, the universality of the distress of the people of Ireland. I could now exhibit to you a fearful quantity of documents on this point alone, showing the failure of trade, of manufactures, and of commerce of every kind, and showing the increasing destitution throughout the land (hear). But what need I relate these things to you? You are all acquainted with them. The most productive country in the world of her size is Ireland. I have shown its comparative extent to be high amongst the nations of the earth. It is neither barren or unproductive waste, for even its bogs are capable of being cultivated, and if they are not reclaimed it is only an evidence of the poverty of those who cannot improve them (hear, hear). But Ireland for her area is the most productive country on the face of the earth. She is never parched by the heat of the summer sun into barrenness, or frozen into sterility by the cold of winter; her soil is productive, her climate is genial, and her population are active, moral, and industrious (hear). It is a cant in England that they are an idle people; but how can that be said when they are to be found seeking employment through every part of the world (hear, hear). They are to be found making roads in Scotland, and digging canals in the poisonous marshes of New Orleans. It appeared from the report of the poor law commissioners that there were 2,385,000 destitute poor in Ireland—that is to say, about one-third of the population were living upon charity. Compare this state of things with the details I have given you of the prosperity of the country before the Union, and the scenes that have been described by your chancellors, judges, leading barristers, bankers, merchants, and all the leading authorities in the country. Compare her situation then, under her own parliament, with what it is now, and let no man come to me and state that he will continue this misery, and then go contented to enjoy the luxuries of his home, after giving his vote to accumulate the miseries and perpetuate the poverty of his country (hear, hear). Whatever prejudices may operate on you, and prevent you from cordially co-operating with us for a Repeal of the Union, are worthless. Whatever stands between you and that measure is criminal in the

sight of God, and ought to be given up by every honest man (loud cheers). I shall not go further into details, but I will give you one more specimen that will come home to every one of you. I found on my table some days ago a document signed by a physician of eminence and undoubted respectability, Doctor Robert Stack. He belongs to the Meath-street institution for administering relief to the sick, and it commences so far back as '94:—"The Sick Poor Institution, since its establishment in the year 1794, has shared in the sad reverses which the locality has undergone over which its operations extended. The Liberties of Dublin, once the seat of manufactures and of wealth, have degenerated into the habitation of the decayed or unemployed artisan; the abode of fashion has now become proverbially the haunt of vice, of poverty, and of disease; hence, while the necessity for such an institution as this has become every day more urgent, the supporters of it have proportionably diminished—as the objects of relief have increased, its friends have decreased. In order at once to perceive this altered state of things, a mere inspection of the returns made at the different periods is all that is necessary. In 1698, patients, 3,640; income, 1,035*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* 1841, patients 16,159; income, 367*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*." There is a scene for you in the capital of the country! and who, I ask, will vote for continuing that system? Who will be a party to augmenting the numbers of the destitute sick and starving? Who is it that will leave the sick artisan to starve, and his widow and children to pine in want? Who is it will do this when they find the funds diminishing, while the calls of charity are augmenting (hear, hear)? Recollect this; I am addressing the representatives of the people of Dublin—I am addressing the representatives of those men for whose business we are all here: and, I ask, is that a picture you can look upon, and then in sooth say, you have performed your duty if you vote against this motion (hear, hear)? I am not going to inflict this list upon you, but I hold it up to show you that I have a list here of the houses of the noblemen and gentlemen in Dublin in 1800, which are now converted into hotels, or divided into small shops; and, in fact, some of them are not occupied at all (hear, hear). I have a list of the manufacturers in the woollen, silk, and cotton trades, from which it appears that the number of tradesmen in Dublin in 1800 amounted to 61,075; the number existing in 1834 was 14,446; of these there were then idle 4,412, showing a decrease of 51,041 in the employed. I cannot go through the details, but I have the returns taken from the year 1800, and carried down to the present period, yet I am not going to inflict them upon you. I have also here an account of the different manufacturers of the different parts of Ireland, not only of Dublin, but Cork, Limerick, Bandon, Roscrea, Balbriggan, and Belfast. Any person can see them in the reports

of the Repeal Association. They show the accumulating misery of the country—the diminution of employment—the lessening of wages—the fading away of manufactures; and even the spurt of prosperity which the linen yarn got in Belfast is so precarious, that it depends upon the caprice of the French Minister of Commerce, and has already received a very fearful blow (hear, hear, and loud cheers).

I am now about to read for you an extract from a speech pronounced by the Rev. Doctor Boyton, on Saturday, the 23d of February, 1833:—"The exports and imports, as far as they are a test of a decay of profitable occupation—so far as the exports and imports are supplied from the parliamentary returns—exhibit extraordinary evidences of the condition of the labouring classes. The importation of flax-seed (an evidence of the extent of a most important source of employment) was—In 1790, 339,745 barrels: 1800, 327,621 barrels; 1830, 168,458 barrels. The importation of silk, raw and thrown, was—In 1790, 92,091lbs.; 1800, 79,060lbs.; 1830, 3,190lbs. Of unwrought iron, in 1790, 2,271 tons; in 1800, 10,241 tons; in 1830, 871 tons. Formerly we spun all our own woollen and worsted yarn. We imported in 1790 only 2,294lbs.; in 1800, 1,880lbs.; in 1826, 662,750lbs. An enormous increase. There were, I understand, upwards of thirty persons engaged in the woollen trade in Dublin, who have become bankrupts since 1821. There has been, doubtless, an increase in the exports of cottons. The exports were—In 1800, 9,147 yards; 1826, 7,793,873. The exports of cotton from Great Britain were—in 1829, 402,517,196 yards, value 12,516,247*l.*, which will give the value of our cotton exports at something less than a quarter of a million—poor substitute for our linens, which in the province of Ulster alone exceeded in value two millions two hundred thousand pounds. In fact, every other return affords unequivocal proof that the main sources of occupation are decisively cut off from the main body of the population of this country. The export of live cattle and of corn has very greatly increased; but these are raw material; there is little more labour in the production of an ox than the occupation of him who herds and houses him; his value is the rent of the land, the price of the grass that feeds him, while an equal value of cotton, or linen, or pottery, will require for its production the labour of many people for money. Thus the exports of the country now are somewhat under the value of the exports thirty years since, but they employ nothing like the number of people for their production; employment is immensely reduced; population increased three-eighths. Thus, in this transition from the state of a manufacturing population to an agricultural, a mass of misery, poverty, and discontent, is

"created." Let me here observe that the movement forward in the cotton trade has gone by, and can no longer be adduced as evidence of any thing save decay. Knowing how wearisome those details are (no, no, from Alderman Butt), I will but bring one single fact more to your recollection:—

"BALLINASLOE FAIR.—1799—77,900 sheep; 9,900 horned cattle. 1835—62,400 sheep; 8,500 horned cattle. 1842—76,800 sheep; 14,300 horned cattle. Export of sheep in 1799 (parliamentary return, 1834), 800 head; ditto, cattle, 14,000 head. Export of sheep in 1835 (railway report) 125,000 head; ditto, cattle, 98,000 head. Thus taking the numbers of sheep and cattle respectively at Ballinasloe fair as a test of the produce of Ireland, we produced more sheep and cattle in 1799 than in 1835, and more sheep than in 1842. There was a larger number of cattle in the latter year; but it was a forced amount, and there can be no doubt but that there will be a great falling off this year. We exported only 800 head of sheep in 1799, and 125,000 in 1835! The difference was consumed at home in 1799."

By the parliamentary returns it thus appears that in the year 1799 all the sheep that was exported from Ireland amounted only to 800. What became of the residue? They were all eaten at home and consumed at home. How is it now? Why, that the amount not only from Ballinasloe but from several other fairs are all exported (hear). The Irish consumed their own cattle formerly, they are now almost all exported. Mark the transition that has taken place in the comforts of the people. All of them have been produced by the Union, and will, during its continuance, inflict upon the country its horrible results of misery and destitution (hear, hear, and cheers). I wish you not to persevere. I wish that no part of Ireland should persevere in this struggle against the restoration of our domestic parliament which was attended by so many blessings, and the absence of which has resulted in imposing so many evils (loud applause).

But there is an evil against which Lord Plunket warned the minister of the day, and against which I wish also to warn you. What were his words?—"Sir, I warn the ministers of this country against persevering in their present system. Let them not proceed to offer violence to the settled principles, or to shake the settled loyalty of the country. Let them not persist in the wicked and desperate doctrine which places British connexion in contradiction to Irish freedom. I revere them both. It has been the habit of my life to do so. For the present constitution I am ready to make any sacrifice. I have proved it. For British connexion I am ready to lay down my life—my actions have proved it. Why have I done so? Because I considered that connexion essential to the freedom of Ireland (hear). Do not, therefore, tear asunder or oppose to each other those prin-

“ciples which are identified in the minds of loyal Irishmen. For me, I do not hesitate to declare, that if the madness of the revolutionist were to tell me, ‘you must sacrifice British connexion,’ I would adhere to that connexion in preference to the independence of my country. But I have as little hesitation in saying, that if the wanton ambition of a minister should assail the freedom of Ireland, and compel me to the alternative, I would fling the connexion to the winds, and clasp the independence of my country to my heart.” (loud and long-continued cheering). That was the warning voice that Plunket raised then. You may say that he was a bad prophet; but, oh! eternity is but a moment, and a nation is not to be judged by a few fleeting years; and how know you how soon his prophecy may be realised? (hear, hear, and loud cheers). I do solemnly assure you that one great motive which induces me to come forward as I do, on this subject, arises from my thorough conviction that he was right, and that the period will come when the connexion between the two countries will be flung to the winds by the Irish people, unless they receive those concessions which ought to be consistent with that connexion, and the yielding of which are necessary to make it perpetual. I have trespassed at great length on seven of my propositions, and I have now the pleasure to announce to the house that I do not mean to refer to any more documents.

#### EIGHTHLY—HOW TO ABOLISH THE UNION.

I come next to my two last propositions. The first of these, the eighth on my list, is, *That the Union can be abolished legally and constitutionally, without any violation of peace or order, or any destruction of property or life.*

I do solemnly declare, that if not thoroughly convinced of the truth of that proposition, I would not be here to-day the advocate of Repeal. Some persons may disbelieve me. I do not know that any person will do so; but I repeat, that I entertain a thorough conviction that the Repeal of the Union can be carried by peaceable means, and that it will have the effect of confirming the connexion between the two countries instead of destroying it. There is no real difficulty in the way of procuring that Repeal. I may be told that we must go before the English parliament to restore our native legislature; but if I am right—if Saurin be right—if Plunket be right—if Locke be right—the Irish parliament essentially exists at the present moment, though not in operation. The royal prerogative can, at any time, again revive that parliament. Tell me not that the English constitution has not resources for great national occasions. King Richard the Second was dethroned by an act of parliament to which he had himself given no assent. That assent was given by the monarch Henry the Fourth, who replaced him, though he was made king by the very act of par-

liament to which he assented, and the act was not made at the time according to law. It was irregular. It was, speaking technically, void : yet who shall now dare to say it was invalid? Why, the Queen inherits the throne through that act which placed Henry the Fourth on the throne, and the statutes passed in his reign are law to this day.

Again, by another statute Henry the Sixth was deprived of the throne and Edward the Fourth substituted. Talk to a lawyer, and he will fill you with difficulties. He will point a thousand legal objections fatal to the title derived under such statutes. But yet, they make part of the undoubted right of the Queen to the throne of these realms (cheers).

Again, Cromwell abolished the monarchy, the peerage, and the ancient House of Commons; but the monarchy had power to assert itself. It sprung spontaneously into full activity, reviving the peerage and the commons with itself (loud cheers).

Again, the period of which many of you boast as the glorious revolution of 1688, was illegal in the view of the judges and the law; but was it wrong in point of constitutional principle? Are you there to assert that it was? (hear, hear). No; but on the contrary, you assert its efficacy, and it matters very little whether the Whigs used the word abdicate or not, it was clear that they dethroned James the Second, and that they appointed another king in his place (hear). Why do I use this topic? It is to show, that there are, in the constitution, resources to meet every emergency—resources by which the Irish parliament may revive without the necessity of going through the drudgery of getting the approval of the English legislature. Will any man tell me that the crown has not the power within it of invigorating the boroughs?—King James the First made forty boroughs all in one day in Ireland; and when spoken to on the subject, his excuse was, “The more the merrier” (hear, hear, and a laugh). What occurred since then to restrict that privilege, except the usage of it not having been enforced? The Queen might at any time issue writs for the convention of an Irish parliament. She might direct those writs to all our principal towns and cities, as well, of course, as to all our counties. Whatever irregularities might exist in the election under the first writs, the first session of that parliament would cure them all, and legislate with all the technicalities that would be triumphant over any special demurrer brought against its proceedings, and the parliament would henceforth proceed to legislate in perpetuity without any irregularity (loud cries of hear, hear). But I am putting an extreme case. Who will tell me that, if the Irish people are unanimous in demanding the Repeal, the English parliament will not yield to their call? (hear, hear). I tell the man who would say so that I heard Lord Althorp admit, that if the majority of the Irish people



joined in seeking for the Repeal, it was their right to have it (hear, hear, hear). If Father Mathew's five millions of teetotalers were all declared Repealers, do you think we would not succeed? Why, you would be all then pressing forward to join us, and we would be united in calling on the British monarch to make the necessary arrangements for the re-establishment of our legislature. Remember what a powerful victory we already effected by combination alone. I say it with regret for the individual sufferers, but without sorrow for the government, that the government is at present extremely weak. The dangers of dissolution surround her, and, though she may get through them, still, if at the present moment we were combined for Repeal, there can be no doubt but that it would be yielded to us. In our former struggle we abhorred and kept under every attempt at riot, and violence, and tumult and disturbance. We respected liberty, and property, and human life, and we will do so again; but I repeat, that if we were at the present moment combined, the English parliament would, before three weeks were over, hurry on the Repeal as the Duke of Wellington hurried on the Emancipation act before the Easter holidays set in, and the people of Ireland would then have another bloodless victory.

We should not be guilty of any vulgar triumph, and we were not guilty of any before. No man can say that when the Catholics obtained the victory of "'29," that they insulted their Protestant brethren. There was no public rejoicings—no illuminations—nothing that their Protestant neighbours could construe into an expression of triumph (hear, hear). We felt our victory not the less to be sure; but how delighted am I now that I can here assert that indecent or open triumphs were unknown at the achievement of the greatest political victory that was ever yet obtained. In the same manner our conduct shall exhibit none of the insolence of triumph when the Repeal of the Union takes place. We shall present our hands in friendship and good fellowship to you, and our hearts shall be in those hands to cheer you (hear, and cheers).

I know that objections are raised against the Repeal. I proceed to canvass the prominent objections. It is said you apprehend a Catholic ascendancy. Ought you to entertain so silly, so groundless an apprehension. It is admitted, that the Catholics of Ireland stand in the position of having in the midst of persecution been three times restored to power; and I defy any man to tell the name of a single individual whom they persecuted in their turn. I will give up the Repeal cause if any one names a single individual who was persecuted by them on account of religion (hear, hear). How well has a modern historian said in speaking of the Irish Catholics:—"They have exhibited the strange instance, unknown to any other people on the face of the earth,

of having never been accused of persecuting a single individual," though three times restored from persecution into power (loud cheers). I belong to those people. I am a descendent of them. Their feelings live in me, and I pronounce their voices from the grave. I pronounce but the truth of history, when I proclaim, that the Catholics of Ireland never persecuted (cheering). Are you then—can you be so absurd as to dread the bugbear of Catholic ascendancy? I would ask, would you not have the House of Lords to protect your interests? Would not nine-tenths of the members of the House of Lords be Protestants, or I should rather say nineteen-twentieths of them? You would then have a vast Protestant majority in the House of Lords to meet any attempt to establish Catholic ascendancy; and if such ascendancy, you would also have the strong arm of being right, and of your enemies having the wickedness of being degradingly wrong; and I know of no magic in politics like that of being right (hear, and cheers). But would you have no protection in an Irish House of Commons? (hear, hear). Have we in this city shown any indisposition to elect Protestants? On the contrary, we have sought them out, and requested that they would consent to be put in nomination (hear, hear). We looked for Protestants high in character and station, and we felt proud in having them elected. We offered the selection to many more Protestants than those who were kind enough to accept it; but besides, from the Protestant parts of Ireland you would get great strength. You would have, in any event, a considerable Protestant minority; and if any attempt was made to treat you unfairly, oh! how would not the eloquence of the honourable and learned gentleman opposite (Alderman Butt) declaim against it. I would go far to hear his vivid eloquence burning and scathing those who proclaimed liberality, and afterwards violated their professions (hear and cheers). This is the hand that drew up a petition in favour of the Protestant Dissenters of England. That petition was twice passed unanimously in the private committee. It was passed unanimously in the Catholic Association, and it was afterwards carried unanimously at an aggregate meeting of Catholics held in the Clarendon-street chapel, where its adoption was proposed by a Carmelite friar. That petition was presented to parliament with 80,000 signatures attached to it, and within three weeks after its presentation the Protestant Dissenters of England were liberated (loud cries of hear, hear, and cheering). You would, I repeat, have a strong Protestant minority in parliament, and you would also have a powerful Protestant population out of doors. But the age of persecution is gone by. Look to Belgium, where at one time the most atrocious persecutions were carried on—where the sanguinary Alva slaughtered the Protestants, and where the equally sanguinary Sonoy and Vandermeuk slaughtered the Catholics with no less fury on the other side. But what is her present con-

dition? With no more than 200,000 Protestants, out of a population of four millions, has she enacted any persecuting law, or made any religious distinctions? If there be a people on the face of the earth attached to religious observances, or absorbed in religious duties, they are the Belgians. In fact, a people more entirely devoted to the observances and duties of the Catholic church than the Belgians do not exist; and yet have they injured a single Protestant? Have they destroyed any of the rights of their Protestant fellow-countrymen? No, blessed be God! they have, on the other hand, established the most perfect religious equality. In their parliament there were four priests; and when M. Du Thieux, the minister of home affairs, proposed a grant for building a Protestant place of worship, it was carried by a majority of forty to four; while three out of the four priests voted for the grant, and only one of them against it; showing, that though he had individual prejudices, they were not shared by his three clerical colleagues, and did not reflect on those who took a different view from him. Yes, the time for prejudice is gone by; and the man who wants the bayonet and the law to enforce his opinions, admits, from by-gone conclusion, that his arguments are not in themselves sufficient to enforce conviction. I repeat it, Catholic ascendancy is a bugbear and no men of sound sense can apprehend it.

Another objection to repeal is, that we would seek to appropriate the church revenues in a different manner from that in which they are at present expended. I avow it (much cheering). Remember that I respect vested rights. There is no living man shall, with my consent, or with the consent of the Irish people, lose one particle of that which he now enjoys. I claim but the reversion. But you may tell me that Protestantism wants that reversion for its support. Is that to be your argument, that reason, scripture, and authority, are insufficient for the support of your religion, but that it must have money to maintain its existence? I will not say a single word that could irritate the slightest religious feelings; but I will merely observe, that if that be your argument I trust I may be permitted to exult in the religion that I myself profess. You took away from my religion the money and the temporalities; you deprived us of our churches; you prostrated our monasteries and temples; and yet religion survived. It took shelter in hovels and caverns. The wealth, the lands, and the temporalities, were taken away; but was the Catholic religion put down by it? Its hierarchy survived (hear, hear, and cheers). It has still its four archbishops and its twenty-three bishops. It has its deans, vicars-general, priests, friars, monks, and nuns in thousands. You may liken it to a column of Palmyra in the desert. Tempests howl around it—the elements discharge their fury against it—its ornaments, its polish, and its gold, may be taken away; but still it stands a noble monu-

ment of lasting greatness, unshaken in its solid foundation (tremendous cheering). No; do justice to your own Protestantism—say that Popery—you call it error. Will you say that error has survived, being stripped of its temporalities? Say, then, that truth must surely be equally vivacious and equally long lived. Do yourselves justice or else concede to me manfully that you want the assistance of state power and the support of state wealth to maintain your Church. Avow that, and the argument is at an end, but still it will be not the less conclusive on the necessity of Repeal (hear).

Another objection to Repeal is the apprehension of the clashing of both parliaments; and the regency question is given as an instance of the manner in which this clashing would operate. I am not here to deny the force of that instance; I admit that the question of the regency created a serious difficulty, but it was a difficulty that might have been easily got rid of, and it would have been obviated if the minister had not thought right to resort to it as an argument in favour of bringing about the Union between the two countries. The principle of the law is, that whoever is King *de facto* in England is King *de jure* in Ireland, and by an extension of that law could make the Regent *de facto* in England, Regent *de jure* in Ireland. If England were to proclaim the King of Hanover King of England, he would become *de jure* King of Ireland; but I do not in the mean time say that I would renounce my allegiance to Queen Victoria (cries of hear, hear). But the objection is met at once by a single and simple enactment, declaring that the British parliament should have the exclusive nomination of a Regent, and that whoever was Regent *de facto* should be Regent also in Ireland. It is also said that the English parliament may think fit to vote a grant of money for going to war, and the Irish parliament might refuse to do so; but the power of going to war rests with the sovereign, and not with parliament; and I, therefore, use it as an argument in my favour, for I maintain that the more obstacles that exist in the way of the king going to war, the better it would be for the country, and to go back to the wars of the last century. I defy any one to point out one which it would not be better for the country to have avoided. The fact is, the people are too ready to call for war, and a second legislative deliberation on the matter would be an advantage instead of an annoyance. But have we not these elements of differences in the constitution of the British government? Suppose that the House of Lords differed from the House of Commons on all measures of domestic or of foreign policy. They have the right and the power to do so, or that the House of Commons refused to agree with the House of Lords, would not this very difficulty arise, and may it not be urged against the English constitution. “Oh, what a constitution you live under, where any one of the three powers of the state can turn against the others and

stop their proceedings? The crown may stop the acts of the two houses of parliament, and either house can thwart the proceedings of the other." But when I come to examine this apparent anomaly, I find that what seemed a contradiction only works for the general good, and conduces to the most perfect harmony, and that the centrifugal and centripetal forces so counterbalance each other, that this causes the body of the constitution to proceed with an even and undeviating course (hear, hear, and cheers). It would be so with the two parliaments. Each would necessarily respect the power of the other as the King, Lords and Commons do—and harmony would in the same manner be produced by the waiver of the obstructive power upon every salutary occasion.

The next objection urged against Repeal, is the alledged inferiority of the Irish parliament. I have a full answer to the objection. It is one that I did not think Spring Rice, un-Irish as he was, could have resorted to. It is true he showed many instances in which the Irish parliament acted wrong—I admit that they occasionally did act wrong, as they were only the parliament of a portion of the people. It was an unreformed parliament, with very many rotten and nomination boroughs. I insist, however, and I am able to prove, that it was not so corrupt as the then English parliament. Will any rational man say that the English parliament was better at the time (hear)? or is the English parliament better at the present day? Is it not allowed that there never was so much bribery known in England, as at the very last election, at present it is avowed that there are more bribers assembled together in the House of Commons than were ever before congregated in any one assemblage (hear, hear)? Talk to me of the inferiority of the Irish parliament—bribers! it does not lie in your mouths to say it. It is not on one side, but on both sides of the English House of Commons that this bribery took place; and, in fact, it was more extensive on our side of the house, by reason of their having been less popular among the English constituencies (hear and laughter). But bribers they are on both sides; and are they to stand up against the purity of the Irish House of Commons? It is to be recollected that bribery is composed of many crimes. It makes the wretch who takes it sell his country, and sell the power of robbing the country. He sanctions murder and injustice, and he crowns the whole with the crime of perjury (hear, hear). "You saw your son take a bribe?" "I did." "You saw him go up to vote?" "I did." "You saw him take the bribery oath?" "I did." "And why did you not stop him?" "Because every body else was doing it." That conversation I read out of one of the reports of the English election cases of last session, laid before the house. We had there the father ancillary to the bribery and perjury of his son, and after that talk to me of the inferiority of the Irish parliament (loud cries of hear, hear).

I could tell you of a higher spirit in that parliament. In 1768 they passed the octennial law, in spite of the then ministry, and reduced their own period of existence from life to a period of eight years. In 1778 they passed, in spite of the minister, a free trade bill. In 1782, in spite of the ministry and of the King, they proclaimed the independence of the Irish legislature. In 1785 they rejected the commercial propositions on which the Union was afterwards founded. In 1789 they made a sensible decision on the regency question, in spite of the ministry, though inconvenient in principle, it was just in itself; for if the King's body were dead, his son would succeed him as a matter of course, and when his mind was dead, the same title should descend to him. The boroughmongers of England gave the crown to Pitt, but the Irish parliament gave it to the real heir of full age. The Irish parliament was right, strictly right. An inconvenience resulted, but I said before, that the matter could have been easily settled, and I now use the circumstance as a proof of the superiority of the Irish parliament that they gave more instances of independence than the English parliament ever did (cries of hear, hear, hear, and loud cheers). You tell me that they forfeited all at the time of the Union; but remember the state of the country, and the extent of the bribery at the time, and that in spite of both the one and of the other, the Irish principle triumphed in one instance, and recollect also that it was necessary to emasculate that assembly, and to bring in foreigners and strangers into it before the Union could be carried. No—the Irish parliament was not so bad as the English, for which indeed reform has done but little beyond reducing her boroughs to a merchantable number of voters. But if the Irish parliament were restored, it would at first be on no more limited than household suffrage, capable of expanding to include all (cheers).

#### GOOD RESULTS OF REPEAL.

I now draw to a close, with the exception of one topic more, and that is, "*that the most salutary results, and none other, would flow from the Repeal of the Union.*" Am I bound to go into detailed proofs of this assertion? Have I not in fact, done so already, and showed that the independence legislative and judicial of Ireland, was followed by the greatest prosperity, as the parliamentary independence was the cause of prosperity at that time. Surely the same cause must naturally produce the same effects at present (hear, and cheers)? I ask, would the Irish parliament, if it had continued in existence since, have permitted the absentee drain to continue? So long ago as the reign of the Edwards, the English government put a stop to absenteeism in England (hear). The English nobility were getting estates in France and settling there, but, by ordinance from the crown, which had authority equal with law, it was

decreed that no Englishman should have his estates in France who had estates also in England, and the proprietors were allowed to open or rather to transfer entails to send a second son to reside on the French estates, leaving the English proprietors free from the anomaly of having estates in two countries at the same time. Thus, those who would not think Ireland good enough to live in, would be left at liberty either to carry away the purchase money of their estates, or else leave one of their sons to reside upon them. Oh, what a joyful day would it not be to the city of Dublin that you represent, if it was announced that 110 lords would require residences to be prepared for them here, and that 300 country gentlemen would be coming to spend the next six months in Dublin. The deserted lanes would be made joyful and busy—the wretched and reduced families would become cheerful and employed. Every misery would be forgotten, and the anticipated prosperity, even before it would be realised, as it certainly would be, would of itself create employment and comfort, our native manufactures would immediately be countenanced and encouraged, our commerce would be fostered and extended, six millions of money now annually produced in Ireland and annually drained out of her, would be employed and spent at home, what a spring to industry, what a stimulant to manufacture, what an encouragement and reward for commercial enterprise in all its branches, what a fund for wages, what a source of multiplied and multiplying wealth, comfort and prosperity (much cheering). But what is the state now? accumulating poverty, increasing distress, destitution and misery.

There is the calamity of every man with a large family, not knowing where he is to get resources, or how he is to provide for them. They are obliged to send their sons to the Cape of Good Hope, to Canada, to New Zealand, and to Australia generally, because they find no means of procuring employment for them at home. In fact, the Repeal is the only means that can open a ground for hope to them. There is no opening for commercial enterprise; for how few mercantile men are making fortunes at the present day. Some few may succeed in doing so; but how many are there struggling through life who find themselves in poverty at its close (hear, hear)? The resort of the nobility and gentry to our towns and cities, would encourage every tradesman and dealer. By the Repeal we would derive that advantage. In the Repeal all interests are identified. The interests of the people are identified with those of the parliament. But let me ask you do you know any country that has submitted to slavery that has not purchased poverty along with it? What country has ever given up her power of self-government, but brought ruin on its people? and do you know any country that has risen to liberty without achieving prosperity at the same time? Look to the

United States of America, look to Venice, look to Switzerland, look to Belgium, but the other day a pitiful province of Holland, taxed most enormously for the bread, the meat, and, in fact, every thing used in the country, and now look to the prosperity that extends throughout its surface. Again go to Norway, an instance that I like to cite; for though Belgium offered to take a separate legislation, still when it was refused to her, she was driven to separate; but in Norway the people have a separate and independent parliament, involved in no other concerns except its own—and though Norway had been formerly overloaded with a disproportionate share of the public debt by Sweden, her native parliament have succeeded in paying off every penny that they owed. Though a barren and sterile land, frozen in winter, and overheated in summer, it has, through the exertions of a domestic parliament, acquired a degree of prosperity never before known amongst its population (hear, hear, and cheers). Oh! how different from our lovely country, beautiful in the exquisite variety of her scenery, in the picturesque diversity of outline with which nature has adorned her, in the loveliness of her green valleys, in the luxuriant fertility of her plains, in the magnificence of her lofty mountains, in the multitude of her ever-flowing streams, capable of turning the machinery of the world. Yes, ours is a country for man to delight in, and for superior beings to smile upon, whilst her people are foremost in every physical and social quality—temperate, moral, religious, hospitable, and brave. Yes, that people shall be what they ought to be. The star of liberty shall beam above them. The advantages of self-government, and the blessings of self-legislation, shall be known amongst them. Their allegiance to the throne is pure and unbroken—their love of liberty is unconquerable and unextinguishable.

Mr. O'Connell resumed his seat amidst the most deafening and rapturous applause, which was repeated without intermission for several minutes. The hon. and learned gentleman occupied four hours and ten minutes in the delivery of his magnificent and masterly discourse, and spoke to the close in his strongest and most vigorous tone, and with scarcely any appearance of fatigue. When silence was restored he again rose and said—I have the honor to move, my lord, that a petition be prepared for presentation to parliament, respectfully praying for a Repeal of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland (renewed cheers).

Councillor MAC LOGHLIN begged leave to second the resolution proposed by his esteemed friend, Alderman O'Connell. It was in conformity with the usual courtesy extended to the seconder of a resolution in that "honorable house"—as Cobbet always designated the English House of Commons—to be allowed to make a speech in doing so. He was, himself, but a very humble individual, yet, unimportant as he was, he had something to say on the present



subject; but he was willing to wait until a later period of the debate, as he knew that the excellent and worthy gentleman who had given notice of an amendment, the learned Alderman Butt, was very anxious to speak on the resolution now, as he would be obliged to leave town for circuit next morning. He would therefore forego his own remarks, and would conclude by simply seconding the motion.

The Lord Mayor then put the resolution from the chair.

Alderman BUTT rose, amid loud cheers from the Conservative benches, and cries of "hear, hear," from all parts of the house. The learned gentleman said he had to propose an amendment to the resolution which had been just put—an amendment to the effect, that the decision—he could not now say the discussion—of the question of Repeal, be adjourned *sine die* (hear, hear). Before he alluded more particularly to the terms of his amendment, he wished to state the view he took of the Repeal question, and the course he intended to adopt. He did not mean by the amendment which he proposed to shrink from the discussion of repeal. Perhaps, after the nature of the honorable and learned gentleman's speech it was impossible to avoid the discussion, it certainly was so after such a speech, a speech, of the tone and temper of which neither he (Mr. Butt) nor those who agreed with him in opinion, could complain; but he felt that whatever might be the merits of the repeal question, there were strong objections to its introduction there, a still stronger objection to the committing of the corporation to a measure so wild and visionary as repeal (hear, hear, followed by loud cheering from the Conservatives). I was, I confess (continued the learned gentleman) exceedingly surprised when I read the notice of this motion (hear, and cheers), but not more so, I am sure, than many who will, perhaps, vote with Mr. O'Connell to-day. I am quite confident that there are many who agree with him in his desire to repeal the union between the two countries, who yet agree with me in thinking that the agitation of that question in an assembly such as this is calculated to do great and irreparable mischief to this corporation and to the country. I had certainly understood it to be the anxious desire of all parties to exclude from this place discussions of such a character. I do not say, that there was any express compact to this effect. I distinctly say that I do not impute to the honourable and learned gentleman the slightest breach of faith. But this I do say, without fear of contradiction, that so far we have all been acting on the understanding that we would avoid those topics of excitement which unfortunately disturbed our country; this understanding, I admit, rested solely on the good sense and good feeling of this assembly, but on those I did rely for its continuance. This is the first time that a political discussion has been introduced here; and of all political questions this is the one, the agitation of which is most likely to be mischievous. Against this first attempt to

convert this municipal body into a theatre of political and partisan agitation, in the name of common sense, in the name of citizens whose trustees we are, in the name of our common country, I enter my decided protest (hear). And I do put it to those who are the most ardent supporters of repeal, whether their cool and calm judgment must not tell them that, in the event of the adoption of such a resolution as that proposed, in committing this corporation to the cause of repeal, in the dissensions which political agitation must introduce among us, in the impression which must be produced out of doors, in the position of hostility in which we will be placed by the adoption of such a resolution, not only to the government, to the parliament, and the English people, but also to that great and influential portion of the Irish public who are resolutely determined to maintain the union between the countries. I say, I put it to the good sense of every repealer in this room, whether there must not be by this an injury inflicted on the peace, the character, the utility, and the influence of this corporation, an injury infinitely more than sufficient to counterbalance any possible advantage that could arise to the cause of repeal from the affirmation of the resolution before you. On these grounds, my lord, I feel that the motion of the hon. and learned gentleman can and ought to be resisted, without deciding the abstract question of the expediency of repeal. I now think it necessary, in the first instance, to take the sense of the assembly upon this question, whether we are willing to have this assembly converted into a place of political agitation? It is one question whether, abstractedly, you think the union ought to be repealed; it is quite another whether you think this corporation should be committed to the agitation of that repeal. On these grounds, my lord, I feel it my duty to move the following amendment:—

“That believing the agitation of the question of repeal of the legislative union between England and Ireland, in the corporation of the city of Dublin, is calculated to produce political dissensions, prevent all cordial co-operation between persons of different political opinions, and to prevent this body from exercising its municipal functions for the good of the citizens at large, this assembly deprecates, in the strongest manner, the introduction of the question; and that, therefore, the consideration of it be adjourned *sine die*.”

Should this amendment unfortunately be negatived—unfortunately for the character and influence of this assembly—unfortunately for the city we represent—unfortunately for our country—nothing then remains for me, and those who agree with me, but to place on record distinctly our sentiments relative to Repeal; and with those who negative the amendment must rest the responsibility of the course they have determined to pursue (hear, hear). Mr. Butt then continued by saying, that there was no inconsistency between his challenge to the hon. and learned gentleman and his amendment. His challenge was nothing more than that

if they were to bring on the question at all, they should bring it on where he could meet them; but this did not deprive him (Mr. Butt) of the argument that it was not a subject to which the corporation should commit themselves as a body, whatever they might think as individuals, of the question of Repeal (hear, hear). But he repeated, he did not shrink from the full discussion of the question which the hon. and learned gentleman had forced on them (hear, hear). He (Mr. Butt) had not sought that discussion, far from it; but when it was forced on him, he would not avoid it; and however unequal he might feel himself to meet the hon. and learned gentleman opposite, especially when he (Mr. Butt) had been able to devote but a few hours, taken from pressing avocations, to inform himself upon a subject with which the hon. and learned gentleman had been familiar for years (hear, hear); yet, in justice to himself, in justice to his constituents, in justice to his country, he was bound to meet the question that had been forced on them (hear, hear). He now came to the question of Repeal itself. In approaching that question he had to request the indulgence of the assembly—an indulgence for which he had often to feel grateful. He had to set himself against their natural, but, he must be permitted to say, mistaken feeling of national pride. He had no appeals to make to their passions or their feelings—he had none of those topics of easy declamation of which the hon. and learned gentleman opposite had with such powerful effect availed himself. He could only appeal, not to their passions, not to their feelings, but to their cool and calm judgment. But if he made it clear to that judgment that the amendment he proposed ought to be adopted, then he would confidently submit it to their good sense (hear). There was one remarkable omission in the speech of the hon. and learned gentleman, of which he (Mr. Butt) thought every member of that assembly had some reason to complain. The motion of the hon. and learned gentleman was simply, that they should petition for the Repeal of the Union. He (Mr. Butt) would show them that no possible notice could be more indefinite—more unsatisfactory than that; and the speech of the mover had not supplied the defect. When the hon. and learned gentleman called on them to commit themselves to a question so momentous—to take a step so important as that of petitioning for the Repeal of the Union, it was not too much to expect that he would distinctly state what was the object at which he aimed, the terms upon which the separation between the legislatures was to be accomplished, and the mode upon which the new constitution of Ireland was to be framed. Not a single hint of such subjects had been given from one end to the other of the hon. and learned gentleman's long address (hear, hear). Yet these were, of all others, the topics which, dealing with the matter as a political question, they had a right to expect to be distinctly

treated, and plainly explained. But he (Mr. Butt) believed, that had they been so, it would be found that a great portion of the hon. and learned gentleman's declamation, that had told so powerfully on the assembly, was utterly inapplicable to his case, and that more than half of his nine propositions were equally inapplicable. He would satisfy them that that was not a mere capacious or immaterial objection; and he did implore of them, on that question, vitally affecting the peace and prosperity of their common country, to give him their earnest attention—to bear with him, however he might oppose their prejudices—to give him a patient hearing, and to weigh well what he urged against the indefinite propositions which Mr. O'Connell contended for (general cheers). It was very plausible, no doubt, to talk about national independence, to prove that Ireland was great enough to be a separate nation, and it was all very well to excite the enthusiasm of people, by calling upon them to rescue their country from a state of provincialism, and restore her to the dignity of a nation; but men, before they suffered themselves to be led away by such specious language, ought to turn back to the history of Ireland, and clearly understand what was the meaning of "national independence." Every Irishman had a right to call on the hon. and learned gentleman exactly to define the object at which he aimed (hear, hear, and loud cheers). Theirs was not the case of an ancient dynasty, to the memorials and traces of which they could point—theirs was not the case of a people with a law and a constitution of their own, made subject to another people differing from them in laws, in language, and origin—theirs was not the case of a people like the French Canadians, subject to foreign laws and to foreign jurisdiction, and claiming the restoration of their ancient laws. No; the hon. and learned gentleman had in that assembly made no such case for Ireland: all that they could seek was of English origin (hear, hear). There was no one indeed who would now dream of returning to the Brehon laws and the ancient Irish chieftainry (hear, hear)—their common law was the common law of England—the parliament which they claimed was a Saxon institution—the hon. and learned gentleman could trace the liberties of Ireland to no higher source than the English conquest. His claim was for Anglo-Saxon rights; it was not without importance to mark this (hear, hear). The liberties of Ireland were vested in the English conquest—on the subversion of the ancient laws of the country—on the introduction of the English common law and Saxon rights (hear). He (Mr. Butt) repeated, the hon. and learned gentleman could trace the liberties of his country no higher than the English conquest. No man in his senses indeed would dream of calling for the restoration of the Brehon law, and the old system of the Irish chieftainry. Upon this point they were agreed, that all they sought was of English

origin. The charter of their liberties, the right to their parliament arose with the English dominion in Ireland (hear, hear). It was of importance to remember that fact when they were called on to seek for their ancient independence. It was conceded that that independence meant nothing more than whatever independence was conceded by the Anglo-Saxon law to those who came within its protection. That was distinctly and unequivocally conceded by the honourable and learned gentleman (hear, hear). The claim for Repeal was to be put forward by them as the successors, whether by descent or incorporation, of the Anglo-Saxon in Ireland. That was the ground taken that day by the hon. and learned gentleman—a ground, he (Mr. Butt) would say was utterly inconsistent with the usual topics urged by the hon. and learned gentleman—of the injustice and oppression of the Anglo-Saxons towards the native Irish; and he did believe it of no little importance to mark the ground on which the hon. and learned gentleman now rested his demand. He (Mr. Butt) trusted the assembly would bear with him while he followed up that inquiry by a brief sketch of the history of Ireland, to show them what was the real character of the independence to which she had ever attained. In 1173 the English dominion had been established in the eastern portions of the island, whether by the right of conquest, or by a cession of the Irish chieftains, the usual excuse of conquerors, it was then useless to inquire—and for centuries the English dominion, the Pale, as it was termed, extended but little beyond the immediate vicinity of Dublin. So late as the reign of Henry the Eighth, it extended over only four counties; the vigorous reign of Elizabeth added nineteen counties to the Pale; but it was not until the reign of James the First that any thing like a parliamentary constitution was extended to the whole of Ireland. In the intervening time, it was quite true that provincial assemblies had been held; colonial parliaments, or, as they were termed, parliaments of the Pale, without power, without influence. Time was occupied in passing laws to prevent the king's subjects of the Pale from amalgamating with the Irish enemies outside; those were the parliaments of the Edwards and the Henrys (hear, hear).

But what was the condition of the parliament of Ireland, even after the extension of its constitution in the reign of James I., the first period at which it could possibly claim the character or dignity of the parliament of the Irish nation? (hear). They had probably heard of Poyning's law, a subject had given rise to much discussion—that was not a law of the English parliament—it was a law of the parliament of Ireland itself, it was passed, he believed, in 1495; at all events it was the 10th of Henry VII.; it was passed while Sir Edward Poyning's was lord justice, at a parliament held at Drogheda, and it was this, that before any parlia-

ment was called, the heads of every bill intended to be proposed to that parliament should be sent over to the English privy council, and should be approved of there. This was afterwards modified by an act of Philip and Mary. It was found inconvenient to compel the heads of every bill to be sent over before the parliament was convened, and this modification permitted the heads to be sent over while the parliament was sitting. But the condition of the parliament of Ireland was this, that they could not entertain any bill until the heads of it were approved of by the English privy council; that was, in fact, the English attorney-general, the officer who in practice superintended the Irish bills. This law of Poynings, a law enacted by the Irish parliament itself, created the dependence of the Irish parliament. It was singular that to this remarkable statute the hon. and learned gentleman had not adverted. He had to the 6th of George I.: that was a law of the English parliament, affirming or declaring the right of the English parliament to bind Ireland by its laws—a right, however, not often exercised, and the assertion of which obviously very little affected the question of Irish parliamentary independence so long as the law of Poynings remain in force. Thus stood the question of Ireland's parliamentary independence up to 1782. In 1782 it was quite true the Irish parliament passed their celebrated declaration of right; the English parliament repealed the act of the 6th of George I., and renounced their claim to make laws for Ireland, and the Irish parliament modified, but did not repeal the law of Poynings. He prayed the attention of the assembly to this, that up to the period of the union the law of Poynings had never been wholly repealed, and the portion of it which was reserved was made a part of the constitution of 1782, that constitution which he thought the hon. and learned gentleman to say was the final settlement of the relations between England and Ireland; but in that year this degrading law was modified. The modification was brought in by Mr. Yelverton, and consisted in this, that the Irish parliament might originate and pass bills without the previous consent of the English privy council; but this right was expressly reserved, that no bill should become law until it received the assent of the sovereign under the great seal, not of Ireland, but of England (hear, hear). He prayed the special attention of gentlemen to this, by the constitution of 1782, which he understood the hon. and learned gentleman to say was the final settlement, a bill which might receive the unanimous consent of both the Irish houses of parliament, required the assent of the sovereign, under the great seal of England, not of Ireland—a great seal in the custody of the English chancellor alone—a minister responsible to the English parliament, and not to the Irish. In England the sovereign had the power of refusing her assent to any measure passed by both

houses of parliament ; but she did this under the advice of ministers responsible to that very parliament, by the advice of an English cabinet, and this was the practical check upon the exercise of the power ; but by the boasted constitution of 1782, the sovereign of Ireland exercised the right of assenting to or rejecting bills passed by the parliament of Ireland—not by the advice of an Irish cabinet—there was no such thing in existence—not by the advice of any minister responsible to, or any way dependent upon, the Irish parliament, but by the advice of a minister solely responsible to, and solely, dependent on an English parliament (hear). And this was not reserved as a mere speculative monarchical right ; for he (Mr. Butt) would show to gentlemen from the speeches of those who opposed the union in both houses of the

✓ Irish parliament that they relied on this necessity of having the assent of the crown under the great seal of England, to all acts of the Irish parliament, as the security against separation (hear) —as the answer to those who urged the danger of two independent legislatures in the one state. It was then relied on as a real and practical control. Let them not be led astray by any declamation about national honour and national independence. Was this constitutional national independence ? (hear). Was he not now entitled to call on the hon. and learned gentleman, before he made them embark in this scheme of repeal, to state distinctly the terms of the object which he sought ? Did he seek to re-establish this settlement of 1782, or seek something different from and beyond it ? Throughout the whole of his address he had never stated the terms upon which the countries must be united after the separation of the legislatures ; and when he came to reply, he (Mr. Butt) trusted that he would distinctly state what was the national independence at which he aimed (cheers). Now, when the hon. and learned gentleman called on them to seek for the re-establishment of Ireland's legislative independence, he (Mr. Butt) thought that he should distinctly have told them what he meant by that (loud cries of “hear, hear”). Did he mean by that independence, in support of which he had cited so many examples of independent states, in confirmation of which he had affirmed so many propositions of their fitness to be a nation—did he mean by that national independence, that in the most important prerogative of giving or refusing her assent to their laws, their sovereign was guided by the advice of a foreign minister, responsible to a foreign parliament, and influenced by the views of that parliament (hear, hear) ? All he asked was, that they should be told was that the state of things they were to seek, that they might know at least what they were to aim at, whether they were simply to repeal the act of union, as his friend, Mr. Mac Loughlin, had stated, on the last day of meeting, or according to another gentleman, Mr. Staunton, to rescind the settlement of

1782, or whether, in accordance with the declamations, the examples, and the nine propositions of the honourable and learned gentleman, they were to seek for an independence never yet realised in Ireland? These, surely, were subjects upon which they were entitled to the most distinct and explicit information (hear, hear). But according to the constitution of Ireland from 1782 to 1800, the prerogative of the crown, in assenting to or negativing their laws, was not the only one of the prerogatives which was to be exclusively by the advice of ministers who were not Irish (hear). Where would they find their executive if they repealed the union? What had they—under the constitution of 1782 a lord lieutenant nominated by the English minister, and responsible only to the English parliament—a chief secretary similarly appointed, and therefore indirectly under the control of the English parliament? Let them remember there never was a constitution in Ireland that gave to the sovereign Irish advisers; and yet by the constitution of Ireland, she was bound by the acts of the crown. Whose advice would the sovereign take on all questions of imperial policy? By the constitution of both countries the sovereign had the exclusive right of making peace and proclaiming war. By whose advice? If they recurred to the constitution of 1782, by the advice of the English minister. He might be told that the Irish Parliament might refuse the supplies (hear). So they might. Did they imagine that if a war was popular in England, England would care for their supplies? (hear). They could not prevent this country from being at war—perhaps from being the very theatre of war, this was admitted, by all the opponents of the union in 1800. The sovereign, by the advice of English ministers, sympathising with the English parliament alone, in which Ireland was wholly unrepresented, had the power of exposing Ireland to all the inconveniences of war (hear, hear). Was that more a state of independence than to send her members to the imperial legislature? No man would surely tell him that it was possible for the Queen of England to be at war, and the Queen of Ireland to be at peace; that while England was at war with France, a French fleet was to ride unmolested in Cork harbour (loud cries of “hear, hear”). That would be, in effect, a separation (continued cries of hear, hear). Let gentlemen answer that (cries of “hear, hear”)—but let them not talk of national independence while they were prepared to place Ireland in that position—that without her own concurrence, direct or indirect, she might be made the theatre of a war, exposed to all its horrors; and that a war of which the whole Irish nation might disapprove (hear)—begun by the English minister, sanctioned by the English parliament, that was, indeed, to make Ireland a province (loud cries of “hear”). But was that all? Gentlemen talked of making Ireland a nation. Where would be their navies?—where their armies?—where their am-



bassadors to foreign states?—where would be their colonies?—who was to appoint their generals, their admirals? all, all belonging to the English government. That must, indeed, make Ireland a province, without the power of interfering in imperial concerns, yet bound by imperial acts. How much better was it for her to send her representatives to the imperial parliament?—how much greater was her dignity? (cries of “hear, hear”). He (Mr. Butt) could understand those who sought for separation; but he could not understand those who talked of national independence, and yet wished to recur to the constitution of 1782. It was easy to talk of a province and a nation; but if there were one situation on earth of a country to which the word province was strictly applicable, it was to the state of Ireland under this boasted constitution, a nation in name, without any of the functions or attributes of a nation, without a national executive, no place for her among the nations of the earth, without her fleets or her armies, no colonies, no ambassadors to other countries. Unless they went the length of separation, they must be a paltry, pitiful, and abject province of England, their parliament a provincial and colonial assembly. He was quite satisfied that once attain repeal, and separation must follow (cries of hear and no). Well, be it so: but unless they did go that length, they had only reduced Ireland from an integral part of the empire to a province, and thus he answered the arguments and propositions of the hon. and learned gentleman, which affirmed the greatness and resources of Ireland. What did that prove? That Ireland was too great to be a province (loud cheers), but a province she must be, under the constitution of 1782. What then remained, union or separation? (cries of hear). He said that Ireland was but a province from 1782. He believed it was the native indignation at such a state of things that gave rise to the attempt at separation in 1798. He would read an extract from the work of a man whom he (Mr. Butt) believed to be a generous and highminded, although mistaken enthusiast, Wolf Tone, who in 1791 thus described the political condition of Ireland under the constitution of 1782:—

“The present state of Ireland is such as is not to be paralleled in history or fable. Inferior to no country in Europe in the gifts of nature—blessed with a temperate sky and a fruitful soil—intersected by many great rivers—indented round her whole coast with the noblest harbours—abounding with all the necessary materials for unlimited commerce—teeming with inexhaustible mines of the most useful metals, filled by four millions of an ingenious and a gallant people, with bold hands and ardent spirits—posted right in the track between Europe and America, within fifty miles of England and three hundred of France; yet, with all these great advantages, unheard of and unknown without pride, or power, or name, without ambassadors, army, or navy, not of half the consequence in the empire of which she has the honour to make a part with the single county of York, or the loyal and well-regulated town of Birmingham.”

That was the opinion of an honest enthusiast who went as far as Mr. O'Connell himself, (Alderman O'Connell, much beyond me). Mr. Butt continued—he knew that Wolf Tone went much further than the hon. and learned gentleman, yet although adopting a different course he was equally anxious to serve Ireland, but he would ask, was that the state to which they would reduce their country? (loud cheers from the Conservatives). Was not that the just description of the positive state of Ireland in 1791? Not of half the consequence in the empire with the single county of York, or the loyal and well-regulated town of Birmingham! (cries of “hear”). Had he heard the hon. and learned gentleman aright, when he believed he called the settlement of 1782 a final settlement? Were not all the arguments of the hon. and learned gentleman that day just the arguments that would in 1791, have proved that Ireland ought not to be satisfied with that settlement? (loud cries of “hear, hear”). Was not the eloquent eulogium pronounced that day by the hon. and learned gentleman on the powers, the virtues and the capabilities of his country compressed into the few sentences he had read from Wolf Tone? Were not the propositions and the arguments of the hon. and learned gentleman, arguments not for a return to the settlement of 1782 but for separation? It was absurd to speak of national dignity and national independence, and prove Ireland's fitness to be independent and then go back to the settlement of 1782, when Ireland was, in truth, a pitiful province of the empire of Britain? Unless they went the length of separation they did nothing (hear and no). He entreated their calm and deliberate attention to that point. Let them not be deluded by declamations about a national independence that never existed, and which, if it meant any thing, must mean separation. He repeated that by the constitution of 1782 the affairs of Ireland were, in her executive, managed by an English Minister, and the law of Poynings was modified but not repealed, and he (Mr. Butt) could show them that the power reserved to the keeper of the English great seal, of advising the sovereign to refuse her assent to their measures, was relied on by the advocates of Irish independence as a security for a connection between the countries. That the Queen did possess the power of negating a bill, no constitutional lawyer would or could deny; suppose, then, the English minister to advise the Queen to refuse her assent to an act passed by both houses of parliament in Ireland—suppose her minister failed in his advice to exercise that prerogative by the voice of an English parliament and the English nation—what were they to do? They could not impede the English minister, they must virtually acknowledge the supremacy of the English parliament. They must tamely submit, or there must be separation (hear). There were some points in the hon. and learned gentleman's speech to which he must refer.

He did not intend, especially at that late hour, to follow him through the nine propositions he laid before them, and many of which it was not material for him to go through. But first let him say that it was no part of his argument, it was no part of his feeling, to throw any discredit on the ancient Irish parliament. If that parliament had its faults, for the honour of their country let them be forgotten in their virtues. He could not help also feeling that the parliament was exclusively returned by the Protestant section of Ireland—the section that it now suited the purpose of gentlemen to stigmatise as anti-national; and he should be the last man to throw discredit upon that parliament. God forbid; when he said that, that he should attempt to throw discredit upon any class of his countrymen (cheers). He gave them credit for all the virtues that the hon. and learned gentleman attributed to them; and it was because he thought that by the Repeal of the Union those very virtues would become the opposite of what they now were, that he was determinedly opposed to it. But the hon. and learned gentleman had given them a list of the petty states in Europe that were inferior to Ireland in the elements of strength. Was there, he would ask, an Irishman who would wish to see his country reduced to the level of some of these states—existing by sufferance, and depending for its very existence on every caprice or calculation of the great powers of Europe? Some of these states were less than Ireland—why, so they were than Wales, than Scotland, than Yorkshire, than the province of Ulster, than the county of Cork (loud cries of “hear”). But for what was the argument used? If the example of these states proved any thing, it proved that Ireland ought to be like them, a separate and independent state. The constitution of 1782 would not place Ireland on a level with any one of them. The employment of arguments like these he (Mr. Butt) did call delusion (hear, hear). Then the hon. and learned gentleman said that Jamaica and Canada had their parliaments. Was there ever such delusion as that? They had parliaments, local and colonial, subject entirely to the control of the imperial legislature. Had not the hon. and learned gentleman himself supported the late ministry in a measure carried in the British parliament, by which the constitution of Jamaica had been, by a mere act of the British legislature, totally swept away? (cries of hear, hear). Had not Canada been similarly dealt with?

Alderman O’CONNELL—I voted against that (loud cheers).

Mr. BUTT—I believe in that instance he voted right; but this could not alter his (Mr. Butt’s) argument. By an act of the British legislature, the parliament of Canada was abolished, her institutions suspended, and contrary, he believed, to the wishes of both provinces, the two provinces had been united into one (hear, hear). He (Mr. Butt) did think that the references

to Canada and Jamaica were not very fortunate instances of national independence, and that Ireland, after all, was a little more independent than either (hear, and cheers). As to the progress of Ireland in prosperity from 1782 to 1800, he (Mr. Butt) was not called on to deny it (cries of hear). No one defended the state of things before 1782, when Ireland was legislated for by a parliament in which she was not represented—her trade and her industry unjustly treated. These years had been years of general prosperity; and Ireland had shared fully in the progress of the empire. At the commencement of the war, a general stimulus was given to trade; and the unexampled increase in the issue of money by the Bank of England at the time of the bank restriction, had, he believed, stimulated production. ✓

Mr. O'CONNELL—The bank restriction was in 1797—(cheers).

Mr. BUTT—The hon. and learned gentleman was quite right in the date (hear, and a laugh); but he would find that the increase in their issues, which in fact created the necessity for that measure, had been pending for many years before (hear, hear). But this was immaterial. It was clear that these years were years of general progress, and Ireland fully shared in the prosperity and progress of the empire. But before he dealt with this part of the question, he had something yet to say as to the proposed constitution of Ireland. He had already adverted to the remarkable omission in the speech of the honourable and learned mover of any statement of the terms of his proposed connection. He had now to complain of another equally singular and equally important omission (hear, hear). He had not told them what was to be the internal constitution of Ireland after repeal (hear, hear, hear). Now, these were points essential, points of his plan upon which, before committing themselves to a vague and indefinite agitation, they had a right to clear, distinct, and explicit information (hear, hear). Gentlemen did not really reflect on all that was or might be contained in the words, repeal of the union. They had no constitution to fall back upon. They did not mean to return to the state of things in 1799, to restore matters as they then were, to re-enfranchise the old burghs of Ireland, to re-charter the old corporations, they could not now call back the ancient elements of their parliament, their very first step would be to make a constitution. Let them not be deceived by the spurious cry of restoration; there was no such thing as restoration in the case (loud cries of hear). He pressed this matter, because his friend, Mr. M'Loughlin, on the last day, said that all they wanted was to repeal an act of parliament. He would show that ✓ it was necessary they should do a great deal more, and that they should frame a new constitution for Ireland if they repealed the

union. He had in his hand a resolution, proposed by the hon. and learned gentleman last year, when he founded the Repeal Association, and declared the principles on which repeal was to be carried. It was thus he opened the repeal movement by a clear and explicit confession of political faith, a definition of the repeal of the union :—

Resolved—That the leading practical objects of the Loyal National Repeal Association during the current year are declared to be and shall be.

Firstly—The total abolition of the tithe-rent charge subject only to vested interests; but to be totally abrogated from the statute-book as being a badge of the servitude and a token of the slavery of the Irish people.

Secondly—To procure that without which there can be no peace in Ireland—fixity of tenure for the occupying tenants of the lands, which may be efficiently attained without prejudice to the landlord's right to reasonable and adequate rents.

Resolved—That in addition to the great objects we have specified as ancillary to, and promotive of, the great cause of Repeal, we shall ever struggle for those objects of just national solicitude.

Firstly—For the extension of the suffrage to be characterised solely by manhood—that is to say, the extension of the suffrage to every male adult who has attained the age of twenty-one years, and who has not been convicted of crime, or affected with mental derangement. This is precisely that which is improperly called “universal suffrage.” It is identical with what is meant by “universal suffrage” with a more accurate name, “manhood suffrage.”

Secondly—For the vote by ballot, without which voting cannot be free from corruption or intimidation.

Thirdly—For shortening the duration of parliament, so as not to exceed in any case three years.

Fourthly—For the equalization of electoral districts.

Fifthly—For the abolition of the absurd property qualification in England and Ireland.

Resolved—That we make this public profession of our principles, as Reformers, concomitant with our fixed, unalterable, and never-to-be-relaxed determination for Repeal, in order to prevent any species of mistake or delusion respecting our principles and practices.

(Loud cries of hear). Not one word has been said of fixity of tenure to-day; but that declaration was fair and honest; it avowed that which must be evident, that repeal was a revolution (hear). That the proposition was not to return to any state of things that previously existed in Ireland—not to adopt the constitution of any European state—but to enter on an untried and wild system of democracy. That was fairly admitted to be essential to repeal—so essential that the aid of every man who did not agree with the repealers was rejected on these points (no, no, from Mr. O'Connell). While that declaration remained unretracted, as the political creed of their repeal society, it would be impossible

for any man to join who would not concur in those objects ; and that he repeated was meeting the question fairly (hear). A new constitution was to be established where the House of Lords were to protect Protestants. Did the hon. and learned gentleman forget his crusade through England, not seven years ago, against the House of Lords? (hear, hear). Did he forget his denunciations of Englishmen as slaves if they submitted to the continuance of a House of Lords? Did he forget "the pigs with soaped tails?" (loud laughter). That was then the hon. and learned gentleman's elegant description of the House of Lords—of the English House of Peers—Englishmen were slaves while the House of Peers existed. But now the hon. and learned gentleman was in love with aristocracy—with an aristocracy certainly not superior as a body to the English. England was trampled on by her House of Lords. That was the doctrine of the hon. and learned gentleman in 1836 ; but now he was prepared to let Ireland be trampled on by a hundred and ten Lords (loud cries of "hear"). Talk, indeed, of the House of Lords ; if they attempted to resist the democracy, three years would not elapse until the balance of the constitution would be settled by an appeal to civil war (loud cries of "hear" and "no"). He tested this by the hon. and learned gentleman's declarations, that all these measures included in this manifesto, would be the immediate consequences of repeal. Was there one of these measures to which the Irish peers would ever consent? (hear, hear). He gave the hon. and learned gentleman all credit for this manifesto ; it was meeting the question fairly. Repeal was not a restoration of any thing that ever had been before—it could not be so ; it was absurd to talk of going back to the constitution that existed before the Union. Did they propose this. Were they to recall the close burghs—the Protestant Parliament—exclusively Protestant—to send the Queen's writ for two members to the burghs of Killybegs, or to some place, where, perhaps, but the ruin of a few houses now stood. The elements of their ancient constitution were gone for ever ; and again and again he pressed this upon their calm attention—that to repeal the Union was not possible (hear, hear). To go back to any thing that had existed before, it was to create a new state, to fabricate a constitution for Ireland. Where were the elements out of which they were to build up this new fabric ? He had shown them that without separation they cannot have a national executive. They had not the elements where they would find an aristocracy, unless they gave the power to those whom the hon. and learned gentleman had been always denouncing as the oppressors and enemies of their country. They could have no national executive—no independent existence as a nation. It was admitted that they could have no national church. Where would they find even a house of commons that would represent the

popular feeling, and at the same time represent the property of the country? Before six years an independent legislature in Ireland would lead to a collision between the aristocracy and the gentry and the people, and a fierce and wild democracy bear sway in the country (hear, hear). By the blessing of established order, of regulated liberty, they were now called on to take their stand (hear, hear). The hon. and learned gentleman had used another argument, that he (Mr. Butt) scarcely expected to hear now brought forward; he denied the competency of the Irish parliament to pass the Act of Union (hear, from Mr. O'Connell). Mr. O'Connell had read in Sallust the story of the prince of Numidia, when the adopted son of the king proposed at the first meeting of the princes, after the old man's death, to invalidate the late acts of his reign, on the ground of his imbecility—"gladly," replied the other, "for that will recind the act that adopted you" (hear, hear, and laughter). If Alderman O'Connell's argument was good for any thing, it went to show that they were all usurpers there, that the imperial parliament had no right to pass the corporate reform bill, or the emancipation bill, and he thus invalidated his own title to make that motion (hear, hear). What right had the British parliament to take away the ancient charters of the freemen of Ireland? The reform bill was illegal as well as the corporation bill. He perceived the hon. and learned gentleman smile. He would answer him, no doubt, by telling him that for all practical purposes it was useless to question the authority of these acts. Of course it was. But what then became of the argument as to the illegality of the Union? (hear, hear). But the learned gentleman had quoted such argument with approbation. What would the hon. and learned gentleman say to the reform bill if the delegates of the constituencies had, according to Locke, no power to transfer the authority given them by their constituents? and yet the hon. and learned gentleman had voted for that bill which, if his present principles were true, was an outrageous violation of right (hear, hear). Was that denial of the competence of parliament now, after an acquiescence of forty-three years, put forward with a serious or practical view? Was Mr. Plunket's or Mr. Saurin's authority put forward with a practical view? That authority meant that the Irish people should repeal the Union by force (cries of hear); that was the plain English of the sentences that have been quoted (continued cries of hear). He asked again, was the hon. and learned gentleman prepared to act on this? (hear, hear). If not, for what purpose cite these words? (hear, hear). There was one part of the hon. and learned gentleman's speech in which he complained of the consolidation of the exchequer of the countries. This, however, he left to be supplied by Mr. Staunton. He (Mr. Butt) regretted that he had not the advantage of hearing that gentleman, because

he could not understand from him (Mr. O'Connell) whether he complained of a violation of the Act of Union or of a hardship to Ireland in the terms of the Union. These were obviously very different things; but either case could be met by a simple statement of the facts. The Articles of Union provided that for twenty years the exchequers should be separate—that Ireland should contribute two-seventeenths of the joint expenditure, and pay the interest of her own debt; and whenever the debt of Ireland and the debt of England should bear the proportion of two-seventeenths, that then the exchequers might be consolidated. After the Union, Ireland was found unable to contribute her share of the joint expenditure; she was forced to borrow money to pay this and the interest of her debt; and in 1817, the debt of Ireland had, from this cause, increased to two-seventeenths of the English debt. This was the entire case; if he was mistating it, his friend Mr. Staunton would correct him. It having been provided by the Articles of Union, that whenever either the English debt diminished, or the Irish debt increased, so that their proportion should be as two to seventeen.

Mr. STAUNTON—No, no, (cries of order).

Mr. BUTT—I will be extremely obliged by my friend's corrections, if I am wrong.

Mr. STAUNTON—These proportions were to be brought about only by the diminution of the English debt.

Mr. BUTT—I certainly do not so read the articles of Union; but if I am wrong, my friend can correct me when he comes to reply. I have certainly stated what appear to me to be the facts of the case. In 1817 the debts had reached this relative proportion. It was then found that Ireland could not contribute two-seventeenths of the expenditure without being burdened; England, therefore, relieved her of this obligation. The exchequers were consolidated, and Ireland relieved of taxation, which was thrown on England. They would find that this measure was adopted for the express purpose of relieving Ireland of a burden to which she had bound herself by the act of Union; that it was a relief to Ireland; and yet this was now made a grievance (hear). If (continued the learned Alderman) the allegation was, that the act of Union had been violated by this arrangement, he utterly denied it; if they said the terms of the Union were hard, he answered, that from that hardship Ireland had been by this very measure relieved (hear). With regard to the question of the Church, he felt called on to say something in reply to the hon. gentleman. He surely would recollect that the ancient legislature of Ireland was exclusively Protestant—that they, exclusively Protestant, elected by Protestants alone, admitted all classes and creeds to participate in the benefits of the constitution; yet, so determined were they to preserve the Protestant Church in Ireland, that



they made it one of the conditions of the Union that it should for ever be preserved? Did they imagine that if the Union had never passed, and that the Irish parliament continued as a separate legislature, the Irish Church would be curtailed as it then was? To the destruction of their Church he trusted the Protestant people of Ireland never would consent (hear, hear). The revenues of the Church had been solemnly appropriated to their present purpose (hear, hear); and he must add, that the proposal to confiscate these revenues to public purposes would make the Protestant people look on this question as a religious one (hear, hear); and he did think that the proposal in one breath to avail themselves of the liberties and rights attained by the Irish Protestant parliament; by the Protestant Volunteers of Ulster, and, at the same time, to take away the revenues of the Protestant Church, was, to say the least of it, ungenerous and unfair. He would not, however, incidentally discuss the question of the Protestant establishment; a question on which he felt deeply and had much to say; but this he could not avoid distinctly saying, that independently of the question as to any particular church, it was his deep and firm conviction, founded on the principles of their common Christianity, that the state was bound to protect and endow a national church. That a state without a national recognition of Him from whom all power was derived, was an impious anomaly; and that no Christian ought to desire that men should unite in a community without dedicating their Union, and in the language of Burke, offering up the state itself on the high altar of universal praise (loud cheers). These principles and sentiments he (Mr. Butt) would venture to say, came down to them with the sanction and authority of the whole ancient Christian church (hear). To one of the propositions opened by the hon. and learned gentleman he had looked with some curiosity—he had listened with the greatest anxiety to hear from the hon. and learned gentleman how the union was to be constitutionally repealed. He proposed two plans: one that the Queen should come over to Ireland, and issue writs to the different Irish boroughs and Irish counties, and so convene the Irish parliament; and the other that the British parliament should pass the measure. They were all aware that one of these courses was open, but he had not yet explained how an English parliament would be persuaded to grant a separate legislature. The first measure would be a rebellion in the name of the Queen; but he was curious to know how any thing short of force could achieve the measure in the second way, and he would therefore say that until they got something more tangible, some plan of effecting the Repeal, it was idle, it was mischievous to call on Irishmen to embark in so wild a speculation (hear from the Conservatives). Let him point out how he hoped to achieve it, unless by physical force; and an appeal to physical force

he very properly disclaimed : but yet when he spoke of England's weakness as the hour of their strength, did not it seem like a threat of physical force ? and until the hon. and learned gentleman would point out some means more definite, more distinct, and more practical than the proposal to bring her Majesty to Ireland, to call an Irish parliament in defiance of the act of Union, on the simple statement that the British parliament might, if they pleased, legally sever the legislatures, he called on every man to pause before he committed himself to such a course. He would detain the assembly for a short time by referring to the arguments drawn from the state of the country. He did not mean to contend that Ireland was now in as prosperous a condition as she might be. There were many causes which retarded her prosperity ; the greatest cause of all, their own disunion ; causes all to be aggravated not removed by the Repeal of the Union (hear). He did mean to assert, that Ireland was progressing. He believed that within the last twenty years she had rapidly improved. He was quite satisfied that there was now a point in her history from which she could start, on a course of rapid improvement (hear, hear). The hon. and learned gentleman had referred to returns, showing the increase in the consumption of articles of luxury and comfort in England (hear), and Ireland from the Union to 1827. That return was not so unfavourable as he (Mr. Butt) had feared. It showed a considerable increase in Ireland, although not so great as in England, but still an increase (hear, hear). He (Mr. Butt) did not intend to occupy the time of the assembly with any long statistical details ; he believed it was possible fully to discuss the question without going into a statistical history of Ireland. He would refer only to one or two documents of unquestioned authority, to show that there were symptoms of prosperity growing up among them. But on the returns of the increase of the consumption of such articles as tea and sugar, referred to by the hon. and learned gentleman, he must observe, that during the period they included it would, he believed, be found, that many of the articles intended for Irish consumption paid duty on being imported into England, and those appeared in the custom-house returns as to the credit of English consumption, whereas they ought to be to the Irish. From the year 1800 to 1825 the trade between England and Ireland had increased from three millions imports to seven, the exports from three and a-half to over eight. He would not trouble the assembly by reading the returns for each year, but this was the general result (loud cries of hear, hear). From 1825 they had not regular official returns of this trade as previously. He was able to show them the amount of tonnage employed between England and Ireland up to 1837 :—

Statement of the number and tonnage of vessels, including their repeated voyages, that entered the ports of Great Britain, from Ireland,

and that left the ports of Great Britain for Ireland, with cargoes, in each year, from 1801 to 1839:—

Years.	INWARDS.		OUTWARDS.	
	Ships.	Tons	Ships.	Tons.
1801	5,360	456,026	6,816	582,033
1825	8,922	741,182	10,981	922,355
1837	10,299	1,202,104	16,347	1,585,624

**Mr. O'CONNELL**—Is that book Stanley?

**Mr. BUTT**—No; he was reading from “Porteus’ Progress of the Nation.” He (Mr. B.) held in his hand the second report of the railway commission. By this report it appeared that in 1825 the imports of Ireland, exclusive of the coasting trade, amounted to 8,596,785*l.*; in 1835, 10,918,459*l.*; showing an increase of one-fourth in those ten years on the imports of the country.

**Mr. O'CONNELL**—We imported manufactured goods, and we exported cattle (laughter).

**Mr. BUTT**—The imports into the country, in whatever they were paid, was the best test of the mass of comfort in the country (hear, hear). Ireland had, it was quite true, become an agricultural country (hear, hear). He was ready to meet the hon. and learned gentleman on that subject. It was the Irish parliament in 1795 who used their efforts to turn Ireland from a manufacturing into an agricultural country. Within a few years they paid a million and a half of money as bounty on the exportation of corn, and what was the consequence? Agriculture was of course encouraged, but it was by the Irish parliament the country was first turned from manufactures to agriculture (hear, hear). Ireland was turned from grazing to agricultural purposes, which considerably increased the employment of the people. They ought not to complain of that; and it was the Irish parliament who laid the foundation of that change by giving bounty to corn. From 1800 to 1825 the trade with England increased from two or three millions to eleven, and he would say there was sufficient prospect of the country becoming yet prosperous and happy—even under all the disadvantages which it encountered from political dissensions and divisions (cries of hear). He did not concur in the doctrine that their commercial prosperity had decayed since the union. There could be no better sign of the commercial activity of a people than the number of banks which sprung up to meet the demands of the times. That was a test of which commercial men could well understand the value. He was now carrying his argument no further. What an amazing increase had there been in the number of banks since 1825! Before 1825 there was very little banking business done in Ireland—comparatively little.

Mr. O'CONNELL—How many have failed of late years ? (hear, hear).

Mr. BUTT—I am not aware that any have failed except the Agricultural Bank.

Mr. O'CONNELL—Very many have failed in various districts of the country. The Agricultural was the only joint-stock bank that failed.

Mr. BUTT said that, even though this were true, he did not think the number of banks which failed afforded a fair test of the prosperity of a country ; for banks often failed through their own mismanagement. If the failure of banks proved depression, he could read a terrific history of the failure of banks before the union. But let them see the number of banks in active and profitable operation through the country. The Bank of Ireland, with branches in many of the country towns, the Provincial Bank, the National Bank (laughter and cheers), and to meet the demand in Ireland, new branches were springing up, in which English capital was to be invested. It appeared by the report of the select committee on joint-stock banks that in Ireland there were in circulation in 1833, between the bank of Ireland and other banks of issue, upwards of five millions—in 1840 as high as six millions. One more fact to show that the internal traffic in Ireland was increasing. The traffics by the Grand Canal were :—

The total tonnage carried was:			Amount of Tolls.
In 1822	...	134,939	£24,866
1837	...	215,910	40,859

showing an increase of one-fourth. He admitted that all that commercial activity might go on ; that it did go on while destitution and distress existed with it (cries of hear, hear). But that was the great and painful problem of their social progress ; it was the problem that baffled and perplexed the minds of the philanthropist and the economist, that wealth could be amassed, and the comforts of human life be multiplied to the rich, and merchants acquire the fortunes of princes, while yet amid all that national progress and accumulation of national wealth and increase of the national resources, the larger class of the people might be no sharers in that prosperity. That was the deep and painful problem in the history of modern, social progress, that excited the attention of every man who had a heart to feel and intellect to understand the anomalies of their social state (continued cheers). But was that problem confined to Irish society ? Was it not every where ? Would they solve it by repeal ? (hear). But, while he felt deeply that the state of the poorer classes in Ireland could not be overlooked, there were yet cheering indications that their condition too was improved. There could be no better test of the condition of the industrious classes than the deposits in

savings banks, within the last ten years they had increased amazingly; in 1834 the deposits in Ireland amounted to a million and a half, the average deposit being 27*l*. (cries of hear). Let them look again to the establishment of loan funds throughout the country, which were producing now in many districts immensity of good. In 1836, a central loan fund board was established by act of parliament, to superintend the loan funds. In 1838, all loan funds were compelled to place themselves under its control. Well, what was the result of the movement now spreading to establish loan funds. By loan funds in connection with that board, there were circulated in loans of small sums :—

1838	...	...	...	£180,526
1839	..	...	...	816,473
1840	...	...	...	164,046

Now, what he brought forward these facts to prove was, not that Ireland was as prosperous as she might be, as she ought to be, as her natural advantages entitled her to to be, but to shew that their country was improving, that they had no reason to despair, and that if they would now apply the energies which they were called upon to waste in political agitation on the practical improvement of their country, they had no reason to doubt her prosperity would increase. The honourable and learned gentleman anticipated the allusion to the case of Scotland, and had referred to a speech of Lord Grey's, who said that for forty years after the union Scotland had not advanced in prosperity. It was admitted that since that period her advance had been most rapid (loud cries of hear). He could not help thinking the quotation an unfortunate one. He (Mr. Butt) could very well conceive the change produced by such a measure as the union. In Scotland the union had been more unpopular than ever it was in Ireland: the articles of union were burnt in every town by the mob. The persons who signed it had to fly from the fury of the people; and yet if any man in Scotland was prepared to repeal it, he would be laughed at. But it appeared it had taken forty years in Scotland to reconcile the people to the union, to turn their discontent into tranquillity, to consolidate that measure, and give to Scotland its full advantages. That was the precedent that was cited. Why the forty years in Ireland had just passed (great cheering and laughter); the period of probation was gone by, and, after having passed that period, just as they were about ascending to the honourable gentleman's precedent and authority to enjoy the advantages of union, to enter on a career of prosperity, the honourable and learned gentleman called on them to enlist in that wild and dangerous agitation (loud cries of hear, hear). So much for the precedent of Scotland and the authority of Lord Grey (hear, hear). The honorable and learned gentleman had referred to the appalling facts disclosed by the commission of poor law inquiry, and appalling those dis-

closures were ; but was his argument that there was no distress in Ireland before the union? (hear). He (Mr. Butt) need not refer to the accounts given by all travellers in Ireland before 1782—those descriptions he would not take up the time of the assembly by reading for them : they exactly gave the same dismal accounts of poverty and wretchedness—of hovels and destitution. It was impossible that that state of things could have been suddenly changed after 1782. True, there were no official reports to show that destitution then existed to the same extent, but did that prove that it did not exist? He was wrong ; there were documents near him showing that distress did exist. He had those extracts from the journals of the Irish House of Commons, stating the presentation of petitions from Dublin, from Cork, and from other parts of Ireland, stating the most pitiable destitution of the citizens—petitions from the silk weavers of the Liberty, representing the decline of their trade and the starvation of their families (hear, hear). He would not at that hour weary the assembly by reading these documents. The decay of the silk trade was charged on the Union. In addition to the petitions to which he had referred, there was the evidence taken before the Irish House of Commons, that with a protecting duty of 15 per cent. the silk trade was brought to ruin (hear). If, then, they heard of nothing but the opulence of Dublin by the residence of the gentry, might it not be because the chariot could roll then in the street as now—and opulence dwell in the stately mansion, while nothing was thought or known of the poverty and destitution that hid itself in the wretched garret behind (great cheering). The fact that no parliamentary report was made was no proof that wretchedness did not exist. How little had they known of the destitution of Ireland before that very commission, to which the learned gentleman had alluded, sounded its depths. He (Mr. Butt) well remembered that the whole country was taken by surprise. No one believed that such destitution existed in the country. The only argument that could be adduced from it was, that the Irish parliament did not do what the English parliament did—appoint a commissioner to inquire into and lay bare the destitution of the country. Let them show him the commission to inquire into the distress of the country before the union, and then he would admit the argument ; but no, they had no evidence whatever that distress did not exist in the country before the Union. He implored of gentlemen to weigh well what they did before they committed themselves to the cause of Repeal, before they committed that municipal body to its agitation. He was not one of those who thought that corporations ought never to express a political opinion ; but there were political questions which they ought to avoid, and that was one of them. Did the country now call on them to come forward (cheers and counter cheers) ; or

were they asked to lead the forlorn hope of a desperate agitation? (cries of oh, and cheers). See the position in which the question stood. Thirteen years ago the hon. and learned gentleman had commenced his repeal agitation; the hopes of the people were excited, promises of success held out, and now, after the lapse of thirteen years, was there one man in the room who did not feel that the cause had retrograded? Did not the hon. and learned gentleman's own conduct show that he distrusted his own course? Where had Repeal been slumbering for thirteen years?—where had it been at the last election for the city of Dublin, when they used all their efforts to return, as the representative of Dublin, a man who would have civil war rather than Repeal (hear). Did the country now call for that measure? No, there never was a time when less political excitement existed in Ireland. I believe this motion is now brought forward here, because without the artificial stimulus that municipal authority can bestow upon this question, the hon. and learned gentleman feels that the common sense of the country has extinguished this agitation for ever (hear, hear). Remember, now, this is brought forward after fifteen months careful avoidance of the mention of the subject. Suddenly, without communicating with any one—without intimating his intention to any one of his own friends, the hon. and learned gentleman places this notice on the books of the assembly—nay, so pressing is the case, that he was compelled to refuse me an adjournment for one short month. After waiting fifteen months, this question comes suddenly, so pressing, that it cannot brook even the delay of a month. I complain not of the inconvenience to which I have been put. I am quite sure the hon. and learned gentleman would not have forced me here to-day if a necessity did not exist (hear, hear, from Mr. O'Connell). But what was the necessity but this, that, so desperate was the case, the remedy could not be postponed even for one month! (hear, hear). Oh! but, said the hon. and learned gentleman, what joy would be spread through Dublin if we could announce to-morrow that three hundred gentlemen and one hundred and ten lords were at once about to take up their residence there. He (Mr. Butt) trusted that the prosperity of Ireland, after all, was rested on a broader basis than the expenditure in its metropolis of any number of aristocrats (cries of hear). These advantages were vastly overrated. He fully admitted that the city of Dublin had been injured by the Union; but were they to determine a great national question by considerations such as these? Were they sure that by repealing the Union they would restore the lords? Humbug! Would a house of lords be suffered to exist (hear, hear)—would the Irish gentry be the members of the Irish house of commons? loud cries of hear). But the injury done to property in Dublin by the Union was much overrated. House-

rents had fallen ! true ; but it was forgotten that new streets and squares had been erected, and that, in fact, a new town had been raised up in the direction of Kingstown and Rathmines—twenty years ago these had been waste ; and if Kingstown and all the other out-skirts of the city could be now annihilated, the rents of the houses in the city would, he had no doubt, be at least fully as high as before the Union (hear). The same complaint was raised at the present moment in London, because the merchants and traders—with the growth of civilization—with the increased facility of intercourse—had resorted to the villas and the towns that had arisen round London. Why the natural consequence of all this was, that rents were lowered in both cities (immense cries of hear). Could this be called an evil (hear). Once more he earnestly implored of them to weigh well the cost—to reflect seriously on what they did before they committed the municipality of Dublin to the desperate contest for Repeal. Let them remember that on this question they had against them, decidedly, determinedly, the whole power of the British Parliament—the British people—the gentry of Ireland, Roman Catholic and Protestant—and a great and powerful portion of her people. Could they find one single member of the House of Lords who would support a petition for Repeal ? In 1834, they had but a small proportion even of the Irish Representatives to vote for it (loud cries of hear). He did not now put forward these matters as a proof of the impossibility of Repeal ; but he did implore of them to weigh them calmly and seriously, before they committed that municipal body to a contest so circumstanced (hear, hear). Was it right, was it just to their fellow-citizens, to desert the proper duties of their municipal character, and commit that body to the fortunes of such a cause ? (hear, hear). Let them be as sanguine as they might ; through how many long years of a convulsive agitation must this country pass—with what injury to her peace, blight on her prosperity, and feuds and dissensions among her people (hear, hear). He (Mr. Butt) believed that they never would carry it but by force (hear, hear, and cries of no, no). When the hon. and learned gentleman told them that the hour of England's weakness might come, was not it an intimation of the means by which alone they could carry Repeal ? [continued cries of hear]. Let them weigh well the risk, the fearful risk, of civil war (hear, and cries of no). They shrunk from the contemplation, and well they might (hear). But a long course of fierce agitation must at least intervene (hear, hear). Were they prepared to submit their country to the excitement it must produce, and the wicked passions called into action, by the dim and distant vision of Repeal ? (hear, hear, hear). Suppose they were successful in the end, how must their country be torn in the mean time ? How much better would they consult her true interests if they all agreed that the energies which must be wasted in such a



project should be applied to her social improvement (hear, hear). What Ireland wanted was repose, a rest from the fever of excitement that wasted and consumed her—they wanted a little interval of peace—an interval in which they might learn to forget their feuds—not in which they might learn to forget their religious differences (cries of hear, hear). No, he trusted they all felt too deeply for their religion ever to forget or make light of these points of difference, but to learn to reconcile with the freedom of social intercourse, with kindly feelings to each other, with calm and serious discussion of the truth, with cordial and generous co-operation for their common country—their deep—their earnest, their solemn differences on the most important subject that could engage the feelings of man (loud and general cheering). What prospect of these blessed results had they, if they were now to be divided by the agitation for Repeal? (hear).

Mr. O'CONNELL—It is no Catholic or sectarian question.

Mr. BUTT—so thought the men who in 1790 began their attempt to separate Ireland from England. The honourable and learned gentleman himself had written what was the result (cries of hear). He warned them that when they commenced this agitation they knew not—he hoped they knew not—the fearful elements they invoked (continued cries of hear). Did they believe it possible that a question of this kind, a question involving the natural relations between England and Ireland, could be agitated without calling into action the elements of religious discord? Never was hope more vain. The oppressions of Protestant England would be the topic of excitement on the one side. Did they not know that there would be recrimination? The Protestant would be hallooed against the Catholic, and the Catholic against the Protestant, by every bad recollection that malicious ingenuity could rake up from the history of other times (loud and continued cries of hear). They would forgive the warmth and the excitement with which he spoke (general cheers). He felt deeply on this subject: if he knew himself, the most earnest wish of his heart was his country's peace. Did he seek a personal triumph for himself over many who had found fault with him, he would rejoice that they should discuss that question in that assembly, that they should carry it (hear, hear). It would justify disregarded remonstrances, and verify unheeded predictions of his own (hear, hear). God forbid that he should triumph in such a result (hear, hear). From the moment he had become a member of that assembly he had laboured in sincerity to disprove his own predictions—to make that assembly the means of good to his country, what it ought to be—not what he (Mr. B.) had said it would be (cheers). He was jealous for the honour of their city. He did wish to see a corporation in Dublin looked up to and respected. He would wish that when their Lord Mayor appeared at the bar of the House of Commons to exercise the ancient right of declar-

ing their opinions, he should do so with authority and weight (hear, hear). Could they expect this if the first time he appeared there was with a petition such as this? (cries of hear). Let them not squander their influence on such a project as this, a project to which they might lend some little influence, but, in doing so, were sure to deprive themselves of immeasurably more (loud cries of hear, hear). But, speaking of the rebellion of 1798, there was one topic to which he ought not to forget to advert. The hon. and learned gentleman had stated that the government had connived at the progress of the rebellion of 1798 to pass the union (hear)—the charge had been made before (hear)—made by the hon and learned gentleman himself: it was that they had fomented the rebellion, it was that they did not suppress it when they might. He had listened with the deepest attention to the evidence on which the hon. and learned gentleman rested this charge against men of high station; and he did put it to the good feeling, to the candour of that assembly, was ever such a charge preferred on such evidence against the memory of the dead, a charge so grave as that the ministers were guilty of so monstrous, unparalleled, and execrable a crime, as that of secretly fomenting a rebellion, in order to apply it to their own purposes. On what evidence did it rest, simply, that in April, 1797, the ministry had been informed by a spy of the meeting of nine rebel colonels in the county Down, and did not arrest them. The rebellion was then organised. Might it not be easily conceived that it was the interest of government not to shut the source of information of the proceedings which they could not stop (hear). He put it to the honourable and learned gentleman himself, had he one particle of evidence on which he could call on any man to believe this charge? Did he not know that before this time Jackson had been prosecuted for high treason, other rebel leaders prosecuted, the *habeas corpus* act suspended, and the insurrection act in force? (hear, hear). Was that like tampering with the rebellion? (hear, hear). But, in fact, the fault of the government was, that they trusted too much to the tranquillity of the country (hear, hear). Was it not the fact that Jackson was arrested so early as 1794, and that the *habeas corpus* act was suspended, and coercion acts enforced, long before the time when it was stated the government received that private intelligence? Did the honourable and learned gentleman forget that in 1803, the Castle of Dublin was within half-an-hour of being surprised, and that when the secretary got the positive intelligence of a rebellion having broken out, he only laughed at the statement as being incredible; an incredulity persevered in to the very moment that the rebels were imbruing their pikes in the blood of the venerable Lord Kilwarden (hear, hear). Was it not a fact that the very volunteers who defended the Castle were not supplied with ammunition? He might, perhaps, appeal

to the honourable and learned gentleman's personal recollection (laughter and cries of hear).

Alderman O'CONNELL said he was there himself, as one of the lawyers corps. His friend O'Gorman was unwell, and his eldest son was born, but he was able himself to stop up four successive nights on duty (cheers).

Alderman BUTT hoped the hon. and learned gentleman was not one of those who complained of the want of ammunition (hear, hear). But he did put it to that gentleman, was it right, was it fair, on such evidence, on such vague conjecture, to make such charges to the too easily excited passions of their countrymen? (cries of hear). Let it be recollected, that of all the misguided men who then suffered on the scaffold, not one had ever made this charge against the government—that it had never been brought forward in the Irish parliament. Ought it now, on vague conjecture to be put forward, when the men whose characters were affected had been years in their grave? (hear, hear). But to return to the question of Repeal. One argument he was anxious to press—one argument he had a right to press. The hon. and learned gentleman promised that an Irish parliament would promote the trade, and advance the prosperity of Ireland. Then it must be by measures to be adopted; there was no magic in the mere sitting of 300 men in College-green—and he did think, that a fairer or more practical course would be to bring forward these measures in the imperial parliament (loud cries of hear). What measure of practical good for the trade, the manufactures, or the commerce of Ireland, could the hon. and learned gentleman tell them he had attempted (continued cries of hear). Let him take this course, let him show the grievances under which the trade of Ireland was depressed; let him demand the encouragement it required; but in the name of common sense, let them try these measures in the imperial parliament before they demanded Repeal (hear, hear). He (Mr. Butt) was perfectly satisfied that if Irishmen were united, there was no real or practical good which they could not obtain from the imperial parliament—disunited in their own parliament, they would be the scorn and contempt of the world (loud cheers). It was, now in the power of gentlemen opposite to give peace to Ireland; never he believed was there a people before whom there was opened a more noble course of virtue and patriotism than was now open to the Roman Catholic people of Ireland. Might he address that people as their friend (hear, hear), as their countryman, who must spend his days among them for evil or for good? After a hard contest, in which they had been influenced perhaps by something that was wrong and selfish, but by much that was honourable and upright and sincere, they had achieved for themselves full equality of civil rights (hear, hear). They were proud of their triumph, be it so; they have been opposed, not because

Protestants grudged them a full participation of civil rights, but because they said they would not rest content with these rights (hear, hear). Prove now how unjust, how ungenerous, were these arguments (cheers). If they would bring the blush of generous shame and regret to the cheek of every man who unconscientiously opposed them, they would give their country peace, by resting satisfied (cries of hear). He implored of them to remember moderation, to reject the schemes of wild ambition which must once more distract their country. What had they to seek for? They had achieved emancipation; they had broken down the old corporations; they had gone further; they had trenched on the rights of Protestants; they had swept away ten prelates of their church (no, no, from Mr. O'Connell, and cries of "it was Lord Stanley"); they had taken away one-fourth from the incomes of their clergy (cries of hear, hear, from Mr. O'Connell). He (Mr. Butt) did not now mention these things by way of reproach. They had established a national system of education, of which Protestants did not approve, but which had been sanctioned by the highest authority of the Roman Catholic Church (loud cheers and cries of hear, hear). Right or wrong these things had been done; and if, after all, they could not rest content; if they still sought that ascendancy for their religion and their party which was involved in Repeal, would they not justify those who had resisted their full participation of all civic rights (hear, hear). Once more he implored them to give their country peace; the noble path of virtue, of patriotism was before them (hear, hear, from Mr. O'Connell). It was not virtue, it was not patriotism, to call into action the dying spirit of discord. They must, he repeated, do that by agitating Repeal (hear, and cries of no). He (Mr. Butt) knew full well the weapons that in such a controversy must be employed—it was inevitable. The hon. and learned gentleman had said he had been blamed for writing a history of Ireland. He (Mr. Butt) blamed him (cries of hear), but let them mark! that history was written as the manual of Repeal (hear); and what were its arguments—the necessary arguments it used?—the oppressions and the persecutions of bygone days (hear, hear), and these must be the topics; not the peaceful topics they discussed that day; that would excite the fierce passions of exasperated parties (hear). What would they have thought of him (Mr. B.) if, instead of meeting the question as their countryman and their friend (loud cheers) he had appealed to those portions of Irish history that would have excited the passions of the Protestant people? (hear, hear). No; let the memories of past wrongs be forgotten (great cheering); away with the evil spirit that would wander among the tombs, to hold communion only with the evil things of other days, and by an infernal necromancy call from the grave the hideous spectres of forgotten crimes to disturb the present generation with the guilt and the

passions of the past (great cheering). Once more he solemnly warned them that so sure as the agitation for Repeal went on, so sure they would have these topics of exasperation discussed (cries of hear). There was one allusion in the hon. gentleman's speech which he confessed gave him some pain. It was sought to be insinuated that in coming forward to maintain that which he felt in his heart to be the cause of his country and of truth, he (Mr. B.) had been influenced by a hope of obtaining promotion from the English government.

Mr. O'CONNELL—I assure you it was not my intention to convey any such insinuation.

Mr. BUTT said that he willingly received the assurance of the hon. gentleman. He (Mr. Butt) had for years taken a large, too large a share in the politics of his country. He defied any man to say that ever he had taken an interested part (loud cheers). He had never scrupled to act on his convictions in disregard of all personal and party considerations. When had he refused to take any position his conscience told him was right, from a deference to the prejudices of any party? (continued cheers). But enough of that. Once more he implored of them to weigh well the question (hear). He knew how specious was the appeal to national independence. But what sacrifice of independence was there in the Union of two great countries? (hear, hear). Had they not the evidence of the hon. and learned gentleman himself, that the reform bill, the measure that impressed the mightiest change upon the imperial destinies, had been carried by the Irish members, in opposition to a majority of the English (vehement cries of hear). Had they not seen a ministry kept in office, in opposition to the wishes of England, by the votes of the Irish members? (continued cries of hear). And after that they talked of their lost independence (hear, hear). Why, if such an argument was to prevail, what progress ever could have been made in associating men into states? (hear, hear, hear). Each of the kingdoms of the English heptarchy might have refused an incorporation with the rest; Ireland would still be divided into its petty chieftainries, and to every proposal of consolidation each petty sept would indignantly reply by talking of a domestic government, and its chief walk home to poverty, pride, and independence (great cheering and laughter). The learned gentleman, after stating that he trusted he had redeemed his pledge of discussing the question as an Irishman, read the terms of his amendment. He did not call on them to express a single opinion against Repeal; but he put it now to them, as honest men, could they lay their hand on their heart, and say No! to that resolution—did they not in their consciences believe it to be true? Let them act on their own judgments; let them prove themselves worthy of their newly-acquired franchise by voting on that question independent of any intimidation outside these walls

or influence within; and if they did this, his resolution would be affirmed (hear, hear). He (Mr. Butt) had already placed his amendment in the hands of the Lord Mayor. Nothing remained for him but to thank the assembly, which he most cordially did, for the attention they had given him. He trusted he had shown that upon this and every other question it was his sincere desire to meet every one of his countrymen as a friend. [The learned gentleman sat down amid vehement cheering from the Conservative benches, which was responded to from all parts of the assembly by general and long-continued applause].

Alderman O'CONNELL—Before any person addresses your lordship, it is my duty to enter into an explanation of some matters referred to by the last speaker. I will confine myself entirely to explanation, and this is the proper time to give it. The hon. and learned gentleman has totally mistaken the evidence that I adduced to prove the fomentation of the rebellion being designed. He has mistaken it I am sure, because he has misstated it, and I don't think he would be capable of a wilful misstatement. What I said was, and I quoted the evidence of Mr. Plunket, that Maguane, being a colonel of the United Irishmen, transmitted to government all the names of the persons who met at their meetings; that they had the names of nine colonels, and every person that met, by returns made once a fortnight. This was going on for thirteen months, and at any time they might have laid hold of the entire staff of the northern rebellion, but most unaccountably, except in the way I have stated, they let it go on for thirteen months, that is the evidence adduced by me (hear).

Mr. GUINNESS rose amidst loud cries of "adjourn," to second the amendment proposed by Alderman Butt. He said the discussion of the question had already occupied six hours that day; he was in the hands of the assembly, and would either go on or adjourn, as they desired.

Alderman O'CONNELL—It would be impossible to hear Mr. Guinness with the respect that is due to him, if he goes on in the dark. I assure him I mean nothing but respect to him in making that observation (hear).

The meeting soon afterwards adjourned.

#### SECOND DAY.—Wednesday, March 1st.

The great interest which this memorable discussion excited was by no means abated, and from an early hour in the morning, the assembly house was surrounded by hundreds of the people outside, and thronged to suffocation inside by those who were fortunate enough to obtain tickets of admission. At twelve o'clock the Lord Mayor ascended the chair, when the Town Clerk called the roll over, and his lordship stated the exact way in which the question before the house stood.

Town Councillor GUINNESS rose and said he would feel it was great presumption in an individual like him to follow after the two distinguished speakers who had occupied the attention of that house so ably; but he stood there through the kindness of the friends with whom he generally acted, who were kind enough to put him forward as the representative of the landed interest, and that much calumniated class, the Protestant landlords of Ireland. They had yesterday heard of the tyrant agents, and if he should endeavour to make some excuse for them he trusted that he should have the courtesy and forbearance of the house (hear, hear). In seconding the amendment he was strongly of opinion that the introduction of the question into that house would tend to no practical good. He felt it was a question upon which numbers were at one side, and property upon the other. He felt it was a measure which never would be carried, and if carried would be very useless to the country. Upon these grounds he opposed it. They had heard much on the previous day of the boasted Irish parliament. What said Mr. Grattan of that parliament, and he presumed he was an authority that none there would be inclined to dispute. Mr. Guinness then quoted a passage from one of Mr. Grattan's speeches, in which he designated the 300 members of the Irish parliament as an assembly whose restricted constitution excluded freedom, and where servile compliance created an accumulation of calamities in the country, and continued by saying,—It was true there was some relaxation in 1782, at the time of the volunteers, when free trade was declared. It was true, it was then possible to introduce some measures with less restriction, but no measure could be passed, as stated by Alderman Butt, unless they had the sanction of the privy council of England. The two houses of parliament were in collision as alluded to by the worthy alderman, upon the regency question. The Duke of Buckingham refused to go up with the bill to the Commons, giving the regency to the Prince of Wales. Who could tell that a similar dispute would not arise if they had separate legislatures. He confessed that he for one would "rather bear the ills they had than fly to others that they knew not of." For Mr. O'Connell did not say one word as what was to be the form of their new constitution or the new order of things that would exist when repeal would be obtained. He feared that if that measure were carried, if it were possible to carry it, that a few years would not pass away till the country was embroiled in civil discord, if not civil war. He was persuaded that the Irish parliament would immediately come into collision with the English, the consequence of which would be the dismemberment of the country, and after that a civil war and re-conquest (hear, hear, no, no). He was not one of those who disputed the right of the learned alderman to advocate the question in that assembly. He thought there was

not any compact to prevent it but it was ~~not~~ very kind to his lordship to bring it forward. During his (Alderman O'Connell's) year of office they did not hear any thing of the measure—they heard of it in another place, but not in that assembly.

Mr. O'CONNELL—Oh! oh! I mentioned it in my opening speech in this assembly. I stated distinctly that I was a repealer before and after my election; but it would not be fitting that whilst I filled the civic chair myself, that I should have brought forward that question (hear, hear, and cheers).

Mr. GUINNESS admitted that, but the measure had not been introduced in that house till after Alderman Roe had been elected Lord Mayor. Could he not have waited until after his lordship had ceased to act. Every one knew his (Alderman Roe's) opinions. He was elected unanimously by the persons by whom the question was then brought forward. In some time they would have a repealer filling the chair; but he saw the embarrassment in which his lordship was placed, and he did not think it kind of his friend (Alderman O'Connell) to bring forward the question then. The discussion had caused much excitement out of doors, and would interfere with the members working practically and usefully for the public good. They wanted to equalize the taxation of the city, for all agreed that it was a great grievance that a house in High-street paid more than one in Merriion-square; and if they had confined their exertions to remedy such evils they would do much good. They were but in their infancy; they were only fifteen or sixteen months old, and would have conferred more benefit upon the city by grappling with political evils than seeking after the visionary phantom which, if in their grasp, would delude the hopes and wishes of the people (hear, hear). He held in his hand a document signed by a number of the heads of the Roman Catholic Church immediately after the passing of the Relief Bill. What did they say? They spoke to this effect; that their civil rights had been greatly extended; that they should labour to promote the pacification of Ireland; that religious discord should cease; party feud be no more heard of, and nothing on their part be wanting to promote peace and good will amongst all classes of the Irish people. He regretted to find the Roman Catholic Bishop of Killala did not think it derogatory to his character to take the chair at a Repeal meeting; and he regretted to find other orders of the Roman Catholic church joining in what was a hopeless, helpless, useless agitation; descending from their high stations, and mixing themselves up with the filthy politics of the day [cries of oh]. His opinion was that if the agitation continued it would have the effect of making every Protestant in the country a conservative, and induce all of them to unite for the protection of property. They did not want the ascendancy for any party. They had as-



cendancy long enough ; and he trusted that no party would be made to put down one and exalt another. Much had been said of absenteeism. He had admitted that it was an evil in Ireland ; but a domestic parliament would not prevent it. Domestic peace was what was required ; and the operation of the income tax would do more to bring back the absentees than a domestic parliament. The learned Alderman had fallen into one or two inaccuracies ; one of which was a reference to the number of members allowed to Wales, and the disproportionate number given to Cork. Now, the fact was, that the county Cork returned eight members.

Mr. Alderman O'CONNELL—I confined myself to the rural districts.

Mr. GUINNESS—admitted that the proportion was not as great as it ought to be, but when the mineral wealth of Wales was considered the disproportion was not so great. Ireland, with all its disadvantages, was progressing. Its agriculture was improving under the benevolent guidance of a learned Alderman [Purcell] near him. Dr. Johnson had said that he was a benefactor to the human race who made a blade of grass grow where it never grew, and made two blades where only one had grown before [cries of hear]. The mining interests of Ireland were great. The mines employed nearly forty thousand miners, carriers and smelters, before a Repeal of the Union, and the low prices of mineral produce did not permit them to carry it to England ; but the duty upon it was taken off, and it was open to the English market. He did believe that England would never consent to Repeal ; and he would ask were they prepared to demand it by force. When the measure was brought before the House of Commons in 1834, it had the effect of preventing English money from coming into Ireland. They were now getting over this, and recovering from the shock consequent upon the introduction of the proposition. A check was given to the introduction of English capital, industry and habits. [Mr. Reilly—And English morality (hear).] Mr. Guinness continued,—Allusion had been made by Mr. Reilly to English morality. He did not wish to use hard words, but he felt great regret in looking into Alderman O'Connell's work upon Ireland, to find that he called a deceased man an arch liar, and an immoral infidel. He should have hoped that as he had gone to his account his bones would have been left to repose in peace—*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. He had said that if the measure were practicable it would be useless. Let not persons be carried away by the hope of the measure being beneficial. How could they go on without support from England. They should remember that England would not grant the measure ; the fears and the jealousies of the English people would be awakened by the constant discussion of the subject. What

had the learned father of Repeal said in the month of February in another place? That if Napoleon had sent ninety thousand men to Ireland, instead of sending them to perish amid the snows of Russia, a different result would have followed. Could any man doubt the meaning of that threat? And was not England ready to seize upon that and similar assertions to widen the breach which existed between them, and set one nation against the other? For his part he was born an Irishman—he had Irish feelings and interests—he felt for his country—he felt for the languishing state of her commerce, and for her unemployed population—he would join with the learned Alderman in procuring any measure which was tangible and attainable, that could raise them from the impoverished state in which they were; but no such measure as Repeal was attainable—it never would be granted. In 1834 it was debated before the House of Commons, and but 38 members were found who voted for it. It had slept, and he had hoped that it had gone to “the tomb of the Capulets;” but it was resuscitated and was dragging its slow length along through the land. Where were the aristocracy of the country? Was there any noblemen but one (Lord Ffrench) in connexion with the association? The gentry kept away from it. It was true that the populace outside, who were easily excited, had everything to gain, and nothing to lose (hear, from Mr. O’Connell, and interruption from some of the strangers who had got into the house).

The LORD MAYOR rose to order, and stated that such an ebullition could not be permitted, as that, like the House of Commons, was a deliberative assembly.

Mr. GUINNESS, when order was restored, proceeded with his observations, and expressed his regret that party feeling prevailed outside those doors, for he understood that Alderman Butt, when he was going away from that house on the previous day, was rather rudely assailed while passing through Dawson-street, and insulted by persons using such offensive expressions as “the bottom fell out of the tub” (hear, and laughter). He for one was quite prepared to bear all the obloquy incidental to the course which he had taken—

Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just,  
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,  
Whose conscience with in justice is corrupted.

He had occupied their attention too long, but he felt strongly. He felt that the discussion of the question would prevent the introduction of English capital into Ireland, and lead to no practical good whatever. Having said so much, he begged to second Alderman Butt’s amendment.—Mr Guinness sat down amid loud cheers from the members on his side of the house.

Mr. THOMAS KIRWAN said he should begin like an Irishman, by endeavouring to answer first a few of the last

observations that fell from the preceding speaker. That gentleman had asked them, and rather triumphantly, where was the aristocracy of Ireland? He (Mr. Kirwan) echoed his words by asking the same question, where are they? (cheers). Where are they, he would say again? They were gone, he knew not where, they were to be found at the different places of pleasure in Europe; the remnant of them were in England, spending the fortunes that were extracted from the vitals of the poor Irish people (hear). The honourable gentleman told them that the agitation would prevent English capital from flowing into Ireland. He (Mr. K.) begged to ask the honourable gentleman what English capital had floated into Ireland for the last forty years since the Union took place? (hear). He begged to reply to the hon. gentleman in this way, that if England were only kind enough to leave them the capital that ought to be the capital of Ireland, they wanted no English capital (hear, and loud cheers). The honourable gentleman had thought proper to reply to an observation of his honourable friend the member for Cork, when he spoke of the comparison between the representation of Wales and the county of Cork. He spoke of the mineral wealth of Wales, and of the advantages resulting from it; but, he [Mr. K.] asked, was there not mineral wealth in the county of Cork also? They exported at that moment very large quantities of minerals, and was there not a large quantity in the country that was not looked for at all; and why? Because the proprietors of the soil and the landed gentry of the country would not turn their thoughts towards or look after the mineral wealth of the country. Why were not the coals of the country looked after? He talked of their collieries, and the duties on coals being taken off; but, he asked, what were the fleets they had coming to Dublin from January to the other end of the year? Had they any foreign trade or foreign vessels coming into their river? No. They had nothing but thousands of colliers coming there with their cargoes. Did they carry away in return any of the produce of Ireland? Not the value of that pencil; but they took away hard cash. Dean Swift had once told them to burn every thing that came from England but their coals; but they did not do that, they cherished her people, they received her produce and manufactures, and they contrived to burn their coals and pay for them in hard cash [hear]. But, speaking of the commerce of the country, was there, he asked, any trade in Dublin? He [Mr. K.] said no; there was no merchant in Dublin; there was no foreign trade carried on in Dublin [hear]. During the time the hon. gentleman had alluded to, that was from the time they obtained free trade in 1782 to 1797, had they commerce in Dublin? He [Mr. K.] said they had, and there was he a living witness of it. He recollected the time when there was commerce, and the wealth

arising from commerce in the city of Dublin [hear, hear], when there was business in their Custom-house, when they had ships in their docks from Virginia, New York, Philadelphia, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and when that Irish Parliament, bad as it was said to be, gave 45,000*l.* to build docks for the accommodation of the merchants of Dublin. These docks were built, graving docks and dry docks; they were then filled with shipping, and contained foreign shipping too, but, he asked, was there a foreign ship to be seen in them at present (hear, hear). Was there a foreign ship, he asked to be seen in Dublin, either in her docks or in her Liffey? Not one (hear). Were the stars or stripes of the ships of the United States to be now seen on the river? They were not seen there for years, though he [Mr. K.] remembered the time when he saw 25 of them there. In the year 1784 a respectable and honourable friend of his now sitting at that table [Mr. M'Clelland], had come to Dublin with a cargo from Smyrna, and that cargo consisted of 110 bales of silk. He went into the Liberty—that Liberty that is now forlorn, miserable, and deserted—that Liberty, where their hearts would ache if they walked through its streets at that moment—and how many hours was he selling his 110 bales of silk in the Liberties of Dublin? He sold them in less than four hours. He was there, himself to answer the question. He would take the liberty of asking his lordship, who knew something of the Liberty, how many hours, how many days, how many years, would it now take to sell 110 bales of silk there? [hear]; and if they were sold, how many centuries would it take to pay for them? [hear]. Was there a bale of silk now sold in Dublin, or imported in all Ireland from abroad [hear]. He [Mr. K.] had once the honour to be called a merchant, but he was sorry to say there was no such class now in Dublin [hear]. He appealed to the gentlemen of the other side, and there were respectable mercantile men amongst them, if he were wrong in that statement? [hear, hear, hear]. They who had been merchants were come to be merely retailers for London, Liverpool, and Glasgow. That was the state of the merchants of Dublin. He would then ask them, what was the state of their shopkeepers, for as to their artizans and tradesmen they all knew these people were begging in thousands? Were their shopkeepers able to pay the rents to which they were subjected, or the heavy taxes which pressed on their unfortunate city? They had no trade, they had no profits, and what ever was done had been monopolized by a few great places called marts, which deprived the legitimate trader of almost his means of subsistence. There was also a description of men, foreigners, who monopolized the trade of their city, Englishmen and Scotch, and he should only say that if the people of Ireland treated the latter as their own countrymen at Paisley were treated the other day, the case would be

quite different. With regard to the commerce of Dublin, what was it, he would again ask ? [hear, hear]. Let them look at the shipping in their docks, confined to a few potatoe and turf boats [hear, hear]. That was the state of the trade of Dublin in 1843—that was the commerce of the Irish metropolis—that was the contrast between the memorable year 1782 and 1843. The hon. and learned Alderman [O'Connell] touched upon a subject on the previous day which was certainly one of a most delicate description. He said that the unfortunate rebellion of '98, which caused so much misery and desolation to the country, was known to the then existing government, who had the power of crushing it, without allowing so much blood to be shed (hear, hear). He [Mr. Kirwan] at least believed he could, confirm it, by a reference to some facts which were then a matter of history. In the trials which took place in the unfortunate times of Oliver Bond, the Sheers, and others, it was distinctly proved—by credible witnesses, that Tom Reynolds was an informer—that he attended the meetings of the United Irishmen, and afterwards forwarded the information to a Mr. Cope, a Dublin merchant, who in his turn communicated it to the Castle. To that fact he defied contradiction. Perhaps some of the gentlemen opposite heard of a Captain Armstrong, who it was proved, on the trial of the Sheerses, had been on terms of intimacy with the unfortunate prisoners ; that he was in the habit of dining with Henry Sheers twice or thrice a week, that he dandled his children, and yet, after obtaining information within the circle of his domestic life, he communicated it to the Colonel of the King's County Militia, who, in his turn, gave information at the Castle. That, he [Mr. Kirwan] submitted, was a conclusive proof that the government knew a rebellion was hatching—that they had the power of pouncing on, and crushing, a conspiracy by which the lives of thousands would have been saved. The government of the day was highly culpable—he knew not whether it was Lord Camden, or somebody else ; but they all knew that Castlereagh was director of all its movements ; that the villainy was perpetrated by him, and he was mainly blameable for the consequences which followed [hear, hear]. There were other topics connected with the trade of Dublin which he should not dwell on, because his honourable friend had done so yesterday, and what he stated on the subject was not satisfactorily answered. They had heard already of the wretched state which the Liberty was in, the very thought of which made his heart sick ; but let them go with him to the Linen-Hall [hear, hear]. He recollected houses in Linen-hall-street, for which one thousand pounds at least would be paid as a fine, when such merchants resided there as Sam. Dick and Co., John Allen and Sons, Chambers and Co., T. Howie and Co. ; yet, to so low a pitch had it fallen, that, on being there two or three

days back, he saw that bills were on all the houses but one or two, and that the rent did not exceed thirty pounds a year. It was, in point of fact, in such a state that he doubted not before long to see it converted into a potato or fish market. There was no trade in that vicinity—nothing in the shape of commerce was to be seen. And, while on the subject of the Linen-Hall, he would just say, that a considerable trade in the shape of exporting linen yarn to France, from the North of Ireland, existed for a long period—that it formerly amounted to something very handsome, but that had ceased, and the trade in the linen yarn was gone too (hear). Any little trade they then had was principally with the British colonies. When he (Mr. Kirwan) knew that trade first—when the importations of rum, sugar, and other articles were very numerous, they had an export trade of linens, cloths, canvas, ropes, candles, soap, &c., which was more than sufficient to pay for those imposts. There was one topic more to which he would call the attention of the Assembly. He begged pardon for trespassing on their attention at such length; but he would not detain them at much greater length. The subject to which he prayed their notice was Canada. He need not remind his lordship and the assembly that that colony was in open rebellion some time since, and that its inhabitants were treated similarly to the Irish people in the year 1797, 1798, and 1799 [hear, hear]. Canada, however, had since that period become a favoured country. It was governed at the time he alluded to, by foreigners, but happily it was found by the government that the expense of keeping a vast number of regiments to keep the population in order was an excessively bad policy, and calculated to reduce to an enormous degree the finances of the country [hear, hear]. The government changed that policy. They found out that that was no way to govern the people, and that it was better to do so by means of conciliation and justice. The foreigners who formerly held the reins of power were replaced by the Canadians, and he [Mr. Kirwan] understood Mr. Papineau was about to return, and even receive the money which was due to him by the State. A wise Providence brought about that state of things; and was there any reason to doubt that the same wise Providence may not have something yet in store for unfortunate Ireland, which had suffered so much? [hear, hear]. They might yet be blessed with a government who would think it a wiser and a juster policy to govern by conciliation than by the bayonet, and might not the present government do so? [hear, and a laugh]. Lord Stanley was a member of that government; he was, as Secretary of the Colonies, the director of the movement in Canada, and he, and Sir R. Peel, might yet think that it was better to govern Ireland in that way than by the aid of red coats, and at the point of the bayonet [hear, hear]. He need not

remind the Assembly that they lost two or three hundred Peers—that they lost three hundred commoners—the Commissioners of Customs—of Excise—of the Treasury—that secretaries and clerks were employed in the customs and excise, all of whom were removed out of the country. They had a large and expensive Custom-house, which cost five hundred thousand pounds, but unfortunately, not at all suited to the interests of their trades; it was now empty as regarded the purposes of commerce, but was filled by the Preventive Service, by the Revenue Police, by the Board of Works, by Poor Law Commissioners—God bless them! and other public bodies. He would conclude by one observation. He believed that Providence had something in store for Ireland: he believed that, as sure, as certain as the sun of heaven shone, she would yet be a prosperous nation. It was impossible that between eight and nine millions of a sober, thinking, and industrious people should be held in subjection by a foreign legislature [cheers]. He believed that to be impossible. He might not live to see Repeal, although he expected it; and if he should be so fortunate he would die content [cheers]. He repeated that it was quite impossible for a foreign government to govern eight or nine millions of people, and he hoped and trusted that Providence would do justice to Ireland by restoring to her people a domestic Parliament [cheers]. He heard it said on the previous day that the Irish Parliament was Protestant; he sincerely wished they would restore it to the people, Protestant as it was, and he, as a Catholic, would joyfully accept it.

Mr. O'CONNELL—And so would I [hear].

Councillor KIRWAN, in conclusion, said he believed that if a Parliament were again restored to Ireland, the majority of its members would be Protestant, and he should rejoice in the circumstance, because they would govern Ireland as they ought to do, honestly, and impartially [cheers].

Alderman PURCELL then addressed the assembly as follows:—My Lord Mayor, I am happy to say, it is my firm belief, that a unity of purpose prevails in this assembly—that unity consists, I am persuaded, in the desire which every member of it feels, to advance the prosperity, and effect the good of our common country. But we differ in this, that each takes a different way to arrive at the same end. I esteem it as the undoubted right of every member here, to express his free and conscientious opinions upon any topic that arises; but my view would be, if possible, to create unanimity throughout the land (hear, hear). I think that by unity of action we should obtain useful power (hear)—that by unity of action and reciprocity of sentiment we could relieve what are considered the real wants of the Irish people—and by unity of action we could command the attention of the British legislature, so as to procure an extension

of representation for this country, to which, as it was clearly demonstrated yesterday, we are entitled (hear) ; and I think, that by a union of feeling among Irishmen, we would obtain an extension of the franchise—an extension which no Englishman honestly could deny us (hear, hear). There are other matters to which reference has been made in the course of this debate, which we have a right to have conceded to us, and in the justice of demanding which I cordially concur (hear, hear). I do not dispute the power and influence a combination of Irishmen must have ; for I am of opinion, that if they were united from one end of the country to the other, even a Repeal of the Union might by possibility be obtained. As to the measure dwelt on yesterday, and on which the debate has been renewed to-day, I do not think that any thing has transpired in the discussion that has given convincing proof in any shape of its practicability or utility ; and I agree with what has been stated by Alderman Butt so forcibly, that we should, in the event of Repeal being carried, be driven back to a new Constitution [hear], and we should previously inquire well, and consider minutely, what that Constitution should be [hear]. My lord, I do consider, that the agitation of the question in this assembly ought to be deprecated by every member of it. I do feel, that that agitation ought not to have been introduced here, and that it will produce hereafter the agitation of every topic referred to yesterday, whether they be for good or evil—such as the abolition of tithes, fixity of tenure, and other matters connected with the state of this country. If these subjects be brought forward here, as I am persuaded they will, our time will be occupied in the discussion of them ; and the consequence of that will be, that our minds will be estranged altogether from the consideration of those wants, which, as a municipal body, we were incorporated to see remedied [hear, hear], and that this assembly will be gradually converted into an arena for political discussion, instead of a corporate body, created to regulate the fiscal affairs of our fellow-citizens [hear, hear]. Much, I say, has still to be done in the way of our duties to our constituents ; and I for one do protest most solemnly, that if I even dreamt that politics would be introduced into this assembly, I would not have become a member of it, nor have accepted the high honour which has been conferred on me [hear]. We were sent here for a different purpose ; and for myself I will say, that I came here to serve my fellow-citizens, to reduce the taxation that pressed upon them, and to see the taxes which were levied, properly applied [hear, hear, hear]. The baneful effects of the motion now before you, my lord, will be felt most heavily by the citizens of this metropolis ; for bear in mind, that there was a bill in progress to consolidate the taxes, which would have produced a considerable saving to the citizens of Dublin—and then reflect upon this fact, that



owing to the introduction of this motion, we have no security that the bill has not been set aside, or will not be withdrawn [loud cries of hear, hear, hear], and I do say firmly, yet honestly, that owing to the same cause, we have been debarred of rights which otherwise could not have been denied to us [hear, hear]. Look to the conduct of the government, who are not friendly towards us, that is—their conduct so far as the Corporation is concerned—and, let me ask you, have they not ratified all our acts—have they left us reason to complain? No; on the contrary, we had every reason to expect that were it not for this Repeal discussion, the bill I have spoken of would have been carried, and our municipal affairs be placed in a much better condition [cries of hear, hear]. It is a matter of notoriety that the just demands of the citizens for the controul, through their representatives, over the paving and lighting, and other taxes, which are so large in amount and which press so heavily upon them, had every probability of being conceded. Why, then, should our efforts for these necessary reforms be impeded, and, perhaps, be rendered ineffectual by this discussion? [hear, hear, hear]. It occurs to me, my lord, that a great stress has been laid upon the extent of public opinion throughout this country, as to the question of Repeal. On that subject no one can blame me if I stand up honestly to declare my feelings, for I have never withheld them; and I believe it will be admitted, even by those who are opposed to me, that during my life I have never, by my conduct, exposed myself to the accusation of having changed my opinion on that subject, or professed what was not my political faith upon it (hear, from both sides). If it so happens that I am brought by intense and honest conviction to differ from many of my fellow-countrymen, I regret it most sincerely; but I do say, that having adhered to my opinion from a spirit of honorable conviction, it is my duty to declare it now, allowing, however, to every man the same latitude which I have a right to expect for myself (hear, hear). But what has been the course adopted by public men antecedent to the discussion of this question? Has not a system of exclusion been exercised against one of the most distinguished members of society in this country—one of the most sincere and undeviating patriots amongst us, a man of the most unexceptionable character in public and private life; and yet he has been excluded from this corporation, for no other reason, than that he did not join the Repeal agitation—I need not say I allude to Richard O’Gorman (hear, hear). The same fate, my lord, awaits you and me (hear, hear, and a voice—you are right). It did not require the verification of any one to prove the fact—it is indisputable—I am conscious of it; and when I am called upon to return my chain of office, I may do so with some degree of regret, but I will say, and proudly feel, I have honorably discharged my duty (hear, hear). What has

been my conduct in this assembly? What has been your lordship's conduct? How have we treated the Repealers connected with the Corporation? With friendship and justice (hear, hear). Have we not, when repealers sought to be elected officers in this corporation—and I believe almost all the officers are repealers—given them our support? Was that exclusive conduct, or did it betoken an intolerant spirit on our parts? (hear, hear). Why, when the Father of Repeal solicited me to vote for him to fill the civic chair, did I not cheerfully comply with his wishes? [hear, hear]. The officers of the corporation can bear me witness—they are here to testify that I came here [and so did your Lordship,] and other anti-repealers, day after day, and openly gave my vote in favour of them [cheers]. I ask all in this assembly, whether the exertions that were used by your lordship—a Protestant gentleman, making sacrifices of friends and family ties—are not deserving of remembrance?—whether the efforts which I, in my humble person, made in common with others, to reform the corporations, and the sacrifices of friendship which I have made, merit the return they are likely to receive? [loud cries of hear, hear]. Did we not lend our aid to obtain corporate reform? Did we not sail in the same vessel with those gentlemen? Did we not work the ship into the harbour of security? And is it not the basest ingratitude the moment we have arrived at the destined port, for them to throw us overboard? [loud cries of hear, hear]. I ask my countrymen, is that just treatment? Is that the way to bring about unanimity? No; I say your camp will be deserted by some of your best supporters, if that be the line of proceeding adopted. I don't care what course is pursued—I heed not what opprobrium may be poured upon me—and much has been already expended; but I defy any man to say, that where public liberty and the welfare of the people were at stake, I flinched one single step from my duty [loud cries of hear, hear]. I challenge the whole of Ireland to say if I have deserted my post, and the answer that would justly follow that challenge, is the surest guarantee that I will never be found a deserter [hear, hear]. I feel with Mr. Guinness that the continuance of the Repeal agitation, would deprive us of the co-operation of the Protestants of Ireland; and feeling this, am I not justified in exclaiming against it? I do so, not from any prejudice, nor would my feelings lead me to draw distinctions between repealers and non-repealers [hear]. When a repealer stood for the ward which I represent—my friend Mr. Kirwan, who spoke last in favour of this motion—I was accused of having given him too warm support [hear, hear, from Mr. Kirwan]. When, as the newspapers announced, “seventy or eighty of the men in Mr. Purcell's employment, contributed their money and enrolled themselves as Repealers,” did I find fault with them? No, my lord; I am proud to say they know their employer too

well—they had too much confidence in his conduct and his character, to think that he would condemn the free exercise of their thoughts and opinions, and I am as proud of their independence as I am of my own [great applause]. My lord I do feel strongly, that the time is inopportune for gentlemen to place a ban of exclusion against us for our anti-repeal opinions, when they never breathed a word against the expenditure of our time, our money, and our exertions, in aiding them, to procure those corporate honors they now enjoy themselves. Mr. Kirwan has stated to you the loss that this country sustains, in having to import coals, instead of consuming the produce of our own collieries—that they are imported here to a great extent, and that hard money is sent in return [hear, hear]. I believe that most of what he says is perfectly correct: but he forgot to mention that a great deal of corn is sent back in the vessels which bring over the coals [hear, hear], and that is one reason which we enjoy, at so cheap a rate, that very essential requisite; but I tell him this, that I live within ten miles of a colliery, and if I consumed the coals which it produces, it would cost me, instead of 16s., a ton which I at present pay, at least 40s., if not more; and the consequence is I draw my coals from Dublin, a distance of twenty-four miles [loud cries of hear, hear]. The decline of trade in Ireland is a matter which every one must deplore, and deeply do I lament it. No man amongst you, probably, has taken more pains to assist in the revival of the manufactures of this country, than I have—it is not from any vanity I declare it—and it has been and ever shall be my greatest pride and pleasure to be able so to do [hear, hear]. As to the trade of the country, I am not connected with it. Yet I am aware of the facts adduced by Mr. Kirwan, and I deeply lament the truth of the picture he has drawn; but how that is to be remedied even by a resident parliament, I cannot comprehend; and how could I comprehend it when I look to the state of trade in England at this moment?—to the depression in her mining and manufacturing districts, and then turn to the parliament assembled and not discover one single syllable in all their lengthened debates, suggesting how those evils are to be removed, that is, as far as regards themselves; and I believe there is not a gentleman here who will deny, that Englishmen would take care of themselves if they could. Every one in Dublin, I repeat, must deplore that trade has been brought to that state: but, my Lord, I think that my friend, Mr. Kirwan might have stated, when speaking of the deserted condition of the Linen-Hall and that neighbourhood in Dublin, that the exports of manufactured linen from Ireland are greater than ever they were, and that the only difference is, that those exports to England, and all over the world, are sent through various channels, instead of being previously deposited in the Linen-Hall, as was originally the custom (hear,

hear). I have to regret exceedingly that there is no prospect held out, by those who advocate repeal, of any speedy termination to the agitation which has been now some years in existence, and which is likely to continue. We are told that the whole of Ireland is interested in this question; now, it is very necessary for us, in some shape or other, to ascertain that fact. During the past year, great exertions have been made, great talents exercised, and gentlemen of undoubted zeal have been sent through the country; and the amount, as we are informed, of receipts to the credit of the Repeal Society during that year—I speak of the year 1842, was something about 5,000l. (hear, hear). If that 5,000l. be divided, it would produce 100,000 repealers at one shilling per head. I am willing to allow, and every person must acknowledge, that that 5,000l. includes money that has been sent from America, England, and Scotland, and that it also includes sums of one pound and upwards, which have been contributed by individuals; so that, when I average the number of repealers enrolled within the last year at 100,000, I am going even beyond the mark—for it would be proved by calculation, that 50,000 would be nearer to the number (hear). We also find that the nobility of the country are not engaged in this Repeal agitation, and that the landed proprietors, the mercantile interest, bankers, and the learned professions, have not taken part in the association.

Alderman O'CONNELL—Pardon me, they have.

Alderman PURCELL—There may have been some that have—no doubt there have been; but, generally speaking, the learned professions have not by their actions upheld the views of the Repeal party. We have seen or heard but little of barristers, attorneys, physicians, and people of that class joining in this agitation; and, under all these circumstances, I think it is manifest that the Repeal question has not taken an extensive hold on the opinions of the people; and I have come to the conclusion—though I have not taken a view hostile to those who ought to guide the opinions of the people at large—that nothing has transpired in this discussion, that ought to alter my sentiments on this subject—sentiments I felt and gave expression to many years ago; and however I regret having to differ from others, I deem it my duty to proclaim them anew, now that this discussion has been forced upon us [hear]. I have been instrumental in forming societies, and it is not from egotism I speak, where all creeds and classes are combined—combined, I believe, for the common interest of Ireland (hear, hear). If the objects I have in view are fully carried out they will benefit the people; but why do I mention these things? I mention them in furtherance of the view I started with, that if we are to gain any thing for Ireland, it is only by unity of feeling we can succeed (hear, hear). It is not by introducing any question, here or elsewhere, that will create

angry discussion; but if men would join with me in bringing persons of opposite politics more frequently together, they would not look upon their fellow-men, with that jealous eye they have hitherto done (hear). And I say this because I can tell you, from experience, and I would not state it if I knew it to be untrue, that whether they be Conservatives, Repealers, or Radicals, when brought together in the societies to which I have alluded, there has been nothing like difference between them, but they have combined for the promotion of the objects of the societies they undertook to manage (hear). I say that when there is unanimity amongst us, I shall have hopes for the country. If we were all united, our claims on the Imperial Parliament for an extended representation, to which we are entitled, could not be resisted. If we were all united, our claim to a portion of that tithe rent-charge which is now sought to be entirely abolished, would not be refused (hear, and applause.) There is a portion of the rent-charge to which the people of Ireland are entitled, for the benefit of their poor; and I am of opinion, that the landed interest would be brought to aid in making that claim, because it would have the effect of lessening the incumbrances of the Poor rates upon the land (hear). That would be a most useful agitation; but to ask me to join in an agitation for the total abolition of the tithe rent-charge, to the continuance of which I was reluctantly a consenting party, but not until others had made the compromise, by which 25 per cent. was struck off, is a request to which consistently I could never concede (hear).

Alderman O'CONNELL—Certainly I was not a consenting party, and the hon. Alderman has totally mistaken the fact, which I must explain, as I feel myself personally alluded to by Alderman Purcell. I took the 25 per cent. as an instalment, and declared that I would never be content until the rest was abolished (hear, hear). I called on the Recorder, and from this spot I call on him now to bear witness to what I said, and he did so in the House of Commons, manfully and distinctly, so that there was no compact or compromise.

Alderman PURCELL—I did not make any reference to Mr. O'Connell personally, and I believe I stated already that I was a reluctant party myself to the compromise effected at that time (hear, hear, from Mr. O'Connell). I take blame to myself now: I thought I was right; but this I will say, considering that that compact, or call it what you may, has only just been perfected—the ink hardly dry upon the parchment—it is too soon to call on us again to agitate that question, and call for the total extinction of tithes (hear, hear). I would leave it to the landlords to get rid of that tax, which weighs heavier upon them, than any portion of the community. I assisted the people as far as I could to release them from that tax altogether; but when I did so, the landed

interest would not join the people (hear). That is not the case now; and if the people would take my advice, should that advice be worthy of their acceptance, they would leave the matter to those who did not join them before in their hour of difficulty and peril, but who now feel the pressure to weigh heavily upon them—let them agitate for themselves. I shall not trespass further on the assembly. I trust that if I have exhibited any strong feeling on this occasion, they will be pardoned, and attributed to the dictates of an honest mind. I trust I am as well disposed towards Ireland as any other man in this Assembly, and no man is more anxious to serve his country, and to stand well in the opinion of his countrymen; but let the sacrifice be what it may, and, though, for a time, the good wishes of many may be estranged from me, on account of my opinions on this measure, I feel that the good sense of the people of Ireland will yet come round, so as to convince them that the man who acts independently and honestly deserves well of his countrymen, and that they should value his opinions, and esteem his services, if they are grounded on honesty and truth (applause). Alderman Purcell concluded by supporting the amendment of Alderman Butt.

Mr. STAUNTON—In stating my reasons for the vote I intend to give on this question, I shall apply myself as much as possible to the observations of the three hon. members at the other side of the house who have preceded me. This I conceive to be the course which ought to be taken in a discussion in which several are expected to join—in which argument ought to be directly opposed to argument, and in which it must be a very obvious convenience to practise the greatest possible economy as to time, (hear). I shall take the propositions in the order in which they are set down on my paper. The learned Alderman began by stating the difficulty in which he was placed by his ignorance of the precise sort of Repeal we want. He assumed, properly, that we intend to uphold British connexion, but further than that, he said he did not feel himself warranted in venturing upon a conjecture as to our projects. What we want is a Parliament in Ireland. We do not want a boroughmonging or exclusionist Parliament, and how to avoid such evils we have received a lesson, as far as it goes, from that Parliament whose omnipotence the learned Alderman wishes to preserve. He thinks it some mortification to our national vanity that, in tracing the existence of an Irish Parliament, my learned friend has not gone higher than such annals as we have of the early days of a British Parliament. But in adjusting Parliamentary matters with the British Parliament, I think it enough to show that we possess rights having sanctions of antiquity equal to theirs. It was the chief aim of the celebrated work of Molyneux to show that all the rights of Englishmen were conceded and guaranteed to us in the

earliest times of the English connexion. It is idle on the present occasion to inquire into the character or extent of the pretensions which may be founded upon our own institutions before that connexion began. I believe, however, that if we were driven to the investigation, it would be found that the Irish, in the most remote times, were not inferior to their neighbours in laws, literature, or any other indications of civilization. The learned Alderman talked of "conquest." That is not admitted by the historian. There was a voluntary adhesion to the Crown of England on conditions, or rather one condition, that Ireland should have an equal participation in the privileges of Englishmen. If the Irish people think that a Parliament is necessary to their interests or liberties, their right to one in as complete a degree as it is known in England cannot be questioned. The learned Alderman talked of the anomaly of the same personage being at war as Queen of England, and at peace as Queen of Ireland. It is not now presented for the first time to the imagination, for it has happened that a king of England was at war, while an Elector of Hanover was at peace, not to the detriment, at least, of the latter country. Suppose we witnessed the anomaly to-morrow, what harm would it do England? None whatever in the view of the learned Alderman, for she has the sinews of war, the fleet, the artillery, and the money. "Supplies," he says, "could not be expected from Ireland." Then, if he be right, there would be less peril to England, and, as for Ireland, the effect would be only the repetition of the old Volunteer expedient of a defensive organisation of her own people for her own protection, while England, in pursuit of her objects of ambition, would think it enough to protect herself. It may be mentioned that England before the Union acted upon a system which showed that she put Ireland out of her consideration in the prosecution of her wars. She had a great war debt in which Ireland was not concerned, and it was a boast of Lord Castlereagh that she was to be introduced to a participation in the advantages of the colonies, to the acquisition of which she had not advanced one shilling of expenditure. The learned Alderman thinks that any consequence we may expect to derive from British connexion we possess at present. If we had a resident Parliament again he thinks we should have no more weight in British councils than York. The question I would ask is, whether we have now any greater weight than York? One of the mildest and most moderate men in Parliament or any other assembly (I mean the O'Connor Don) is reported lately to have said that five British merchants going to the minister in Downing street, for any public purpose, would be more certain of success than all the Irish members put together (hear). "But what would you do," asked the learned Alderman, "in case the Queen were advised not to give her consent to an Irish Act of Par-

liament?" He seemed to have thought it of great importance that in the "final settlement" a veto was reserved to the Crown. How could a veto be avoided if a Crown were at all recognised? The Crown, in the view of this side of the house, is the Crown of Ireland. How could we refuse a veto to the Crown of Ireland, in the present form of the constitution, which is the form we wish to preserve? The Crown, we think, should be left here, as well as in England, to its constitutional privileges. It is plain enough that the Parliament and the Crown should manage to carry on the public business in Ireland as well as they do, amid much occasional difficulties, in England. Where there is a will, it is said, there is a way. It would be the duty of the Irish Crown and the Irish Parliament to conciliate mutual confidence and regard, and when that duty would be performed, there could be no reasonable apprehension as to the results. Alluding to the points urged by my learned friend, as to the progress of Ireland before the Union, the learned Alderman remarked upon the general improvement on the European nations, and the stimulus given to those countries, especially by the bank restriction act. The fact which my learned friend dwelt upon, and the only fact of importance in the present discussion, is that the progress of Ireland was great and unexampled. Mr. Foster, in dwelling on the unparalleled progress of Ireland, during one of the Union debates, observed, "that in Ireland the exports rose, since 1706, nearly from one to ten, and in Britain only from one to three and a fraction. The Irish, he added, are almost ten times as much as they were in 1706; the British not four times." The learned Alderman thinks we are in a fair condition of taking a start in improvement; nay, he thinks the improvement has already occurred, and he goes to the railway report to show that our progress has been one of almost railway celerity. What is the conclusion he draws from the railway report? that between the years 1825 and 1835 a great apparent advance took place in the Irish imports and exports. He did not find out the exact amount, but they are the following:—In Appendix, page 90 of the report, it is stated that the entire imports increased in this space of time to 15,300,000*l*, and the exports to 17,300,000*l*. The learned Alderman contrasted these amounts with the totals set down for exports and imports in 1825. I have the railway report and the records of 1825 before me, and upon the faith of one compilation I impeach the other. The record of 1825 is contained in the "Summary Report" on the state of the Irish poor in 1830. In the Appendix, page 129, the united imports and exports are stated to be in official values 17,700,000*l*. The learned Alderman talked of an increase of a fourth, or of 25 per cent.; he ought rather to have talked of 85 per cent. In 1825 we have 17,700,000*l*, in 1835 we have 32,800,000*l*. Does any calm thinking or intelligent man



imagine that there could have been such an increase between 1825 and 1835? What was there in the interval to warrant a belief that there was such an increase or any increase at all? I believe such an increase was, under the circumstances, totally impossible, and I think I can show you as good grounds as any the railway report can furnish for believing it to be most improbable. First, I should give you a notion of the data on which the conclusions of the railway report are founded, and this is the more necessary as the learned Alderman, although he had the compilation in his hand, left you entirely in the dark on the subject. The Railway Commissioners assented to the publication of an obviously exaggerated representation of these transactions, but not without notice. They stated as follows, in the 17th page of their report:—"It is greatly to be regretted that on a matter so important, and capable of affording so useful an indication of the condition of the country, documents having official authority cannot be referred to. To supply this deficiency we applied to the Commissioners of Customs, who directed their collectors at the several ports to prepare the returns given in the Appendix B, No. 9. From these returns the table of exports and imports for 1835, (Appendix B, No. 10) has been compiled. In Porter's tables we find a similar table for 1825." They added a most significant note in the following words:—"We regret that the state of the labouring population does not warrant us in assuming that any considerable portion of this increased consumption is shared by them. The demand seems to proceed, almost exclusively, from the superior class of landholders and the inhabitants of the towns." "The labouring population of Ireland," they say. What are the labouring population? •The great mass of the people—the state itself. If a great increase had really taken place, what consequence was it, under such circumstances, to Ireland? The few had increased luxuries—the millions continued to pine in want. Is this the improvement which the learned Alderman produces to us as a reason why we should not seek for Repeal of the Union? But I expect to be able to show that neither the few nor the many could have improved within the time. A most remarkable fact is, that though the period of 1825 is contrasted with that of 1835 we have no authentic data as to the former period—at least we have no data to enable us to make a fair comparison under one essential head. What have we recorded under the date of 1825 in the "Summary Report?" This fact, that "the real values of the exports to England cannot be ascertained in this year." Then, if there be any comparison at all it is not in real values as far as exports to Britain in 1825 are concerned, though it is certainly in real values that the enumerators of 1835 affected to deal. How are we to guess the real values of 1825? Of course by the amounts of previous years. I shall

state some of those amounts, and I beseech the house to bear them in recollection. The real values of the exports to England were at these periods of the following amount:—

1813	£11,228,401
1817	9,114,427
1821	8,974,509

Then to 1821 they were descending; it is not known what they were in 1825, but it is assumed that these very exports which were falling from 11,200,000*l.* to 8,900,000*l.* between 1813 and 1821, had advanced to 17,300,000*l.*, or nearly doubled in the next ten years. You cannot think that such a result could be possible. If you have any doubt I think I can satisfy you. I have quoted the fact from the "Summary Report," that the real values of 1825 as to exports are unknown. The case, however, is different as to the imports. It is stated that they were from all parts in official value 8,596,000*l.*, and here I must notice a most important circumstance, that we have no record in this report of any but official values as to imports. We have the two values to a certain time as to exports, but only one value as to imports. According to that value (the official value), the imports in 1825 were 8,595,000*l.* In reality they might have been only 5,596,000*l.*; but in the railway report they are swelled to 15,300,000*l.* (hear, hear). Now imports consisted in a great measure of teas, sugars, and wines within the period, and let us see the records under these heads:—

Teas, 1825	£533,074
1835	476,601
Sugars, 1825	420,947
1835	406,601
Wines, 1825	196,442
1835	193,146

All these figures are taken from the annual finance accounts. They are far more to be relied upon than the conjectural amounts of the railway report, and they prove retrogression under every head instead of progression. If we compare the whole customs (or import) duties of 1825 with those of 1835, there is a small advance:—

Customs, 1825	£1,906,900
1835	2,006,103

Any difference of increase in the gross amount we are to attribute to accident, for in the essential particulars there has been proof of decay. The legacy duty of Ireland, and the malt duty, were less in 1835 than 1825:—

Legacy duty, 1825	£30,208
1835	27,284
Malt duty, 1825	320,507
1835	260,294

In the Railway report the quantity of Tea, alleged to have been imported in 1835, was 4,794,316lbs. and the quantity in 1825 3,889,658 lbs. The latter agrees with the amount set forth on the "Summary Report on the condition of the Irish Poor," which I hold in my hand. I believe the figures of the Railway Report to be exaggerated in this very material instance, because in looking through a long table in the document before me, I find there was no remarkable variation in the consumption of tea for a great number of years. In 1801 the consumption was 3,499,801lbs. and in 1825, only 3,889,658lbs. In no year between the Union and 1825 did it exceed the latter amount, and therefore I think it very unlikely, that it advanced to 4,794,316 in ten years afterwards. In the compilation before me the account of Tea consumption is brought down to 1827. The three last amounts are the following :—

1825	3,889,658lbs.
1826	3,807,785
1827	3,887,955

Here are the amounts of two of the ten years subsequent to 1825, and neither of them exceeds the quantity of that year. This is another ground on which the accuracy of the Railway report may be impeached, for if there was no increase at all in two years it is to be supposed that there could not be an increase of the magnitude alleged in the eight years subsequently. The duty on Tea in 1825, is stated in the document before me to have been £503,074. All the Tea duty was not paid in Ireland in 1835, and I have no means of stating its amount in that year ; but it was paid in Ireland in the three subsequent years, and the amounts were as follows :—

1836	£476,239
1837	472,650
1838	409,173

Compare any of these amounts with the duty of 1825, and the very opposite of progress is to be inferred, and on this ground, also, I conclude, that there could not have been great progress between that year and 1835. The foreign trade of Ireland ought to enable us to form some estimate of the British trade. The following were the imports and exports under this head in the years 1825 and 1835 respectively :—

	1825	1835
Exports from Ireland to Foreign countries,	£705,514	336,015
Imports from Foreign countries,	1,406,487	1,453,880

There is shewn here, a very small advance in the imports, but a falling off to less than one half in the exports. On these grounds then I claim the verdict of this Assembly that the railway report statement is altogether delusive, and that when the learned Alder-

man reckoned on a prodigious increase of prosperity, he should have doubted whether there was any increase whatever. My next memorandum of the observations of the learned Alderman introduces me to the question of the two debts. He has stated what he conceived to be the enactment of the treaty of Union as to these debts. My learned friend who made this motion has quoted the amounts of these debts at different periods. I have an official document, (Parliamentary paper, 1824, sessional number 256), from which I can take that amount at January 5th, 1801, when the act of Union became operative:—

	British.	Irish.
Funded,	£466,261,000	£26,841,000
Unfunded,	20,588,000	1,703,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£486,849,000	£28,544,000
Interest,	18,415,000	1,195,000

This makes the amounts of each more than they are sometimes represented, but they include unfunded as well as funded debt, and they are, as I have said, of the date when the Union became operative. The debts were consolidated in 1817, and the question which we have to discuss is, whether that measure was just towards Ireland or consistent with a fair construction of the act of Union itself. In proposing the Union Lord Castlereagh said, it would be convenient if both debts could be united at once, on the conditions on which the English and Scotch debts were united, namely, the payment to the country of the smaller debt of an equivalent in money. That arrangement, he said, was impracticable in the case of the Irish Union, for England had no adequate equivalent to offer to Ireland. Then the only course that could be adopted was, he said, to keep the debts separate, and maintain two exchequers until one of three events should come to pass. The first was, a liquidation of the two debts; second, an approximation in the values of the two debts which would bring them within the Union proportions—namely,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 1. And thirdly, the circumstances of the two countries, respectively, admitting of their contributing indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles. The two debts were united—the two Exchequers consolidated—in 1817; and the question, I say, is, whether the circumstances under which the measure was carried satisfied the conditions proposed at the Union and embodied in the treaty? Mr. Rice noticed in his speech in 1834, that a complaint was made by the Scotch in 1713 that the Union had been violated. This, he said, was a stronger case than any advanced on the part of Ireland, for he had not heard it as yet stated that the enactments of the Union had been violated by Parliament. If one of the three contingencies warranting a junction of the debts had not

happened up to 1817, the measure was a violation of the act. The first contingency was a liquidation or paying off of both debts; that had not happened, and has not yet happened. The second was the approximation of the amounts of the debts so as to bring them within the proportion of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 1. That did not happen in the form or way which could be contemplated at the Union, or which was in itself reasonable or equitable. The act of Union expressly sets forth "liquidation" as the process by which approximation could be effected; and liquidation must have been an action on the British debt. The Irish people were to be protected—were to be saved from an injury or injustice relative to debt. Hence no consolidation was suggested at the Union, as England was not ready with her "equivalent." The magnitude of the debt of England was the difficulty at the Union. It was as 17 to 1. To render Ireland liable in any way to a burthen so enormous was the admitted injustice which was to be avoided. The case would be different if the burthen were smaller. How could it be rendered smaller except by liquidation? To require Ireland to force up her debt would not be the saving of a burthen but the imposition of a burthen. Her borrowing must have been for imperial purposes, and it must have been excessive to be of an amount to bring her small debt within the proportion to the large debt of one to seven and a half. She owed 28,000,000*l.* at the Union; she should have owed upwards of 100,000,000*l.*, to make her debt two fifteenths of the British. To alter the existing relations, by obliging her to make such an addition to her debt, could not be the form in which she would receive an equivalent, or be protected from an admitted injustice. Therefore, that action on debt did not take place between the Union and 1817 which would afford equitable grounds for a consolidation in the latter year, and therefore that measure was contrary to the act of Union, if it were intended to be, or was in reality, a just law. The third contingency is, that the circumstances of the two countries should become such as to admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes, on the same articles. Such a state of things could not have existed in 1817, or before it, if the second had not happened. Even if England had paid off two or three hundred millions, no alteration of circumstances would have occurred warranting taxation indiscriminately on the same articles, if Ireland had been compelled to plunge into new debt. The payment of debt by England would be a proof of opulence; the contracting of debt on the part of Ireland would be a proof of poverty—conditions perfectly dissimilar and irreconcilable to any system of equality in taxation. It follows that no condition of consolidation prescribed or adopted at the Union was satisfied when the act which came into operation in 1817 was passed, and consequently that that act was a violation of the articles of Union. What was the practical effect upon Ireland?

My answer is, that it could do her no good, and must unavoidably do her great mischief. It could do her no good, for she was compelled to yield all that her revenue produced after the consolidation, and this was exactly the condition in which she was placed before. The pockets of her people were emptied before and after with undeviating strictness; therefore, no practical good came to Ireland by the consolidation, and I shall show how it was the parent of great practical injury. The transactions of one year will illustrate those of every other year, and I shall take the present. Suppose the Exchequers were still separate, and that the really equitable course had been taken in 1817—namely, a re-adjustment of the proportions of contribution, so as to impose the burthen on Ireland suited to her ability—the following would be the arrangements for the coming year:—The amount of the whole receipts of revenue I shall take to be 50,000,000*l.*, per annum. Of this the Irish portion credited and uncredited, I will suppose to be 5,000,000*l.* Out of this, 19,610,000*l.* would be applicable, if the Union were operative, to the payment of the interest of the debt due before that measure. The balance of 30,390,000*l.* is what would be called, before the Exchequers were united, joint expenditure. According to the receipts of revenue for forty years the ability of Ireland as to Great Britain would appear to be 1 to 12.—I shall, however, take it at 1 to 10 as there are taxes in England which do not exist in Ireland. A tenth of the assumed amount of the joint expenditure would be 3,039,000*l.*, which added to the interest of the separate debt due by Ireland at the Union, would make an aggregate of 4,234,000*l.* This, under the assumed circumstances, would be Ireland's annual contribution in the present state of her revenue to the joint and separate expenditure, if the act of Union were operative—if she had the benefit of that act—and she has a revenue of 5,000,000*l.* Therefore she ought to have a surplus applicable to her own purposes of 766,000*l.* a year. Say this is exaggeration as far as the revenue goes. Say the revenue is 500,000*l.*, less, still there is a surplus, and a surplus according to the 7th article of Union is applicable to the reduction of Irish taxes, the liquidation of Irish debt, or the internal improvement of the country. The less you suppose the revenue to be, the less you should assent to a high proportion of contribution. Suppose a surplus of 553,000*l.*, had been admitted twenty-five years ago, and the same sum placed then, and every year since, at compound interest for the liquidation of debt—and be it observed this is a course expressly mentioned in the act of Union; the sum which would be realised before now would exceed 21,000,000*l.* If the revenue were greater, which it would be if our prosperity had not been arrested, the saving would be greater; and there does not appear, then, any thing so fanciful as gentlemen imagine in my learned friend's idea, that Ireland had within

herself those resources which would have enabled her to liquidate her whole debt, and become the least taxed country in Europe if she had been fairly dealt with. I press these propositions on the honourable members opposite, and let us examine again what they are. I say that Ireland should not have been placed under an expenditure above her resources or her power of raising revenue, and so says the act of Union. I say the Imperial Parliament should have the power of rectifying any mistake or injustice that occurred when it was determined to take away our Parliament, and so says the act of Union, for it prescribed periods of "revision" not shorter than seven years and not longer than twenty. I say the Parliament actually exercised a power of revising when they passed an act of consolidation. I say further, however, that they did not take the right or equitable course on that occasion, for Ireland was not only to be released from unjust or extravagant proportions, but to be allowed the benefit of her surplus. The Parliament said—every minister proclaimed—that Ireland had been required to do too much. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald said, "you contracted with her for an expenditure which she could not meet." Was not the reasonable and just course to contract with her for an expenditure which she could meet? This is the course pointed out by the letter and spirit of the Act of Union; and if it had been taken when the exchequers were consolidated, the point I contend for is, that we would have at present a surplus of some hundreds of thousands annually to be applied to our own uses. It may be said that Ireland is not bound to do more now than pay according to her ability. But where, I ask, is our surplus, and where is that equivalent which was talked of at the Scotch Union, and which Scotland actually received? We had nothing to do with the British debt in 1800; we are now responsible for every shilling of that debt. What occurred to warrant this change in the interval between that and 1817? It was admitted at the Union that Ireland should get something great to induce her to assent to such a change. Has she got one farthing? Not one farthing. The English exchequer, it was confessed, had not money enough to pay her for her assent, yet the change occurred without her receiving one farthing or without any thing being left to be told, but that she got into debt because there was a "contract for an expenditure which she could not meet." There is no other mode of accounting for the junction of these debts than that a wrong had been done and that it forced Parliament to a new act of legislation. It will be admitted, I hope, that justice requires that a wrong should be righted; but the form of reparation resolved upon in this case was the perpetration of a new wrong. The learned Alderman said something importing that our corn trade was depressed under our own Parliament, and that it only raised its head aloft under the British

Parliament. We had, however, a very rapid growth of prosperity even in the corn trade under the Irish Parliament. In the reign of George the Second we imported corn largely from England—and England, for a great part of the last century, was a corn exporting country. In 1758 the Irish Parliament granted corn bounties, and again in 1784, and the effect was a great increase in the growth of our own corn. It is recorded that in eight years preceding 1780 we exported 106,030 barrels, but that in the single year of 1793 we exported 803,000 barrels. It is also recorded that in ten years preceding 1795 the value of the corn exported was 4,256,360*l*. The learned gentleman dwelt with some emphasis on the fact that savings' banks have considerable deposits in Ireland, and that we have increasing and prosperous loan funds. I am ready to admit much of what he urges on this subject. I know something of loan funds, for I instituted one myself some ten or eleven years ago in a district near Dublin and it is flourishing. But what are loan funds? A resource for a portion of the poor of a miserable country? We want them much, and I hope they will increase rapidly; but if we had a tithe of the prosperity of which we hear so much there would be less to be recorded of the existence or good effects of loan funds. Savings' banks in this country are in many instances but the depositories of small sums saved formerly by the self-denial of the people, and hidden in the earth. The habit of hiding money has been recorded of the industrious poor of Ireland, and the same tendency has been observed in every country labouring under oppression and misfortune. The trifles (for trifles they must in most instances be regarded) which were formerly hidden, are now, as they ought to be, lodged in these banks; but surely we are not to found on this, shutting our eyes to so many other facts, an assumption that we are in a rapid march of prosperity? The case of Scotland has been referred to. It is totally different from that of Ireland. The Scotch had, at all events, nothing to lose by an union. They were proverbially a most miserable people. The Irish, on the contrary, were advancing more rapidly than any other European nation. The following are stated in Chalmer's Comparative Estimate, to have been the relative amounts of Scotch and English Revenue:—

English Customs,	...	... £1,341,559
Scotch ditto	...	... 34,000
English Post-office,	...	... 101,000
Scotch ditto	...	... 1,194
English Excise,	...	... 947,602
Scotch ditto	...	... 33,500

It is clear, then, that the Scotch had nothing to lose by an Union. They took the responsibility of a debt, but it did not



amount to 20,000,000*l*, and they received their equivalent in money for assenting to that arrangement. Besides, there were differences between the English and Scotch Parliaments on vital subjects, which rendered either an Union or a war inevitable. These differences extended even to the succession to the throne. The House of Stuart was excluded from the English monarchy, but it was held in veneration by the Scotch people, and a law was passed by the Scotch Parliament, the effect of which would have been to separate the two Crowns and the two kingdoms for ever, on the death of the then reigning sovereign. The Irish parliament indulged in no speculations of this kind. On the contrary, in defence of the rights of the English throne, it suppressed a rebellion, and consented to fix upon the Irish people the whole expenditure. Instead of menacing war, it succoured Britain in an hour of need by a voluntary grant of 20,000 men to serve her fleets. Again, the Scotch proprietors were not the owners of a confiscated country—three times confiscated in one century—and they were not owners living abroad. There are great differences in religious circumstances between the two countries. The English did not put down the trade of Scotland; did not inflict upon her people a penal code, and did not in other respects arouse their fears, or alarm their jealousies. Then a Scotch Union was a probable, and even a desirable event compared to the Irish Union. And is it, after all, certain that the Scottish nation owes any thing to the Union? It produced no good fruits, according to Lord Grey, for forty years, and it was the parent of an insurrection in five years afterwards, according to the same authority. I believe that Scotch prosperity is greatly exaggerated. I believe a large portion of the population are scantily fed, and very indifferently clothed, and that they are not, in these respects, much above the level of our own people. Nothing is more common than bare feet and hovels in the Highland districts, and the food of the people in general is, in quantity and quality, such as an inhabitant of Kent or Sussex would not be content to live upon. Admitting, however, all that is said on the condition of Scotland, are the effects traceable to the Union, or are they not in spite of the Union? If the Union were a source of benefit, why did it not produce its good results in the early part of the last century, and why did Scotland languish for so many years before any gleam of prosperity was discoverable amongst any class of her people? The learned Alderman made it a point of accusation against my learned friend that he had refused to postpone this motion for a month, and yet at the meeting of last week insinuations were thrown out that he manifested a disposition to evade discussion, and it was distinctly demanded in one quarter “why he was not at his post?” I approve of the temper generally exhibited in the speech of the learned Alderman—he is in this respect uniformly to

be applauded, and he always displays an ability entitling him to admiration. His speech yesterday was eloquent and skilful; it did not convince me, but I am quite certain that it would be very difficult to find one of his party who could exceed him in the dexterous use of such facts or arguments as lay within his power. I, however, while I am willing to do him this justice, must say that he departed from his customary discretion and fairness when he threw out an insinuation that there are gentlemen in this body who do not follow the dictates of their own judgment on this question, and who are even under the influence of "intimidation." I boldly challenge the learned Alderman to point out one act or vote of any man in this Assembly that did not testify that he was a free agent? What has been my own conduct on this great question? I have now the honour to be a member of the Repeal Association; but I did not always belong to it, because I act on my own convictions, and upon them alone, of what is reasonable or expedient. While the Whigs were in office I did not abandon hope for Ireland. I knew they committed many faults, but I was persuaded at the same time that they had many good intentions towards the country which they had not been permitted to carry into effect. I was, above all, influenced by this conviction, that the cause of Repeal had obstacles to contend against during their continuance in office by which it could not be encountered afterwards: and I felt that it could not require a long space of time to decide whether they could continue in the government with that possession of the power of an executive which would enable them to render substantial justice to this country. I postponed, therefore, my adhesion until the undoubted enemies of this country forced themselves upon the sovereign—and certainly the people of Ireland—and then I thought every man was bound to place himself under the national standard. I might have been wrong in all this, but certainly I was a free agent. I think I have acted with perfect independence in this house, and I know I can claim nothing in this respect which may not confidently be claimed by every gentleman by whom I am surrounded. I pass, however, to the state of Ireland. It is not prosperous, and it cannot be prosperous, under existing circumstances. My hon. friend the member for Kilkenny, who has rendered invaluable—really incalculable, service to Ireland by the attention he has given to this subject, and by the efforts he has made in and out of Parliament to bring it under the notice of the British public—moved a couple of sessions ago for a paper which shows the relative amounts of British and Irish revenue for 40 years since the Union. When I talk of services out of Parliament, I allude especially to a paper in the *Dublin Review*, published in the autumn of last year. I know this able and most comprehensive exposition of Irish rights as well as grievances was written by

Mr. John O'Connell, and I hope I violate no rule which ought to be observed by mentioning the fact. I would strenuously recommend it to the attentive perusal of the hon. gentleman opposite and every member of their party. The statement of the forty years' revenue to which I allude shows this striking fact, that during the whole time England and Ireland were in exactly the same, or nearly the same, relative position as to revenue. Was this consistent with increasing prosperity? Is not increase of prosperity supposed, in England at least, to be indicated by increased revenue? Do not the quarterly returns determine in England whether John Bull has reason to mourn or rejoice? Why should it be otherwise in Ireland? The forty years are divided into eight periods, and the proportions were as follows:—

First period, Irish revenue was to British ...	1 to 13
Second period ... ..	1 to 14
Third period ... ..	1 to 13
Fourth period ... ..	1 to 12
Fifth period ... ..	1 to 13
Sixth period ... ..	1 to 13
Seventh period ... ..	1 to 13
Eighth period ... ..	1 to 12

The return comes down to 1840. If we look to the receipts of revenue in the last year (1842), we will find that there had been a slight increase in both revenues, but that the Irish increase is, to that of Britain, only as one to fifteen. Nothing more need be advanced on the question of prosperity. The average credited receipts of the Irish revenue in the five years ended 1840 was about 4,500,000*l*. Why was it not 9,000,000*l*? Why was it not 15,000,000*l*. if we were so rapidly prospering? At the period of the Union, it was anticipated that, in twenty years, Ireland would be able to contribute guinea for guinea with England. The indiscriminate taxation to which we have been so largely subjected supposes such an equality of powers of contribution. The Scotch revenue has been more than doubled since the Irish Union. Much as the Scotch Union did for Scotland, its revenue was not quite 2,000,000*l*. at the period of the Irish Union, while the Irish revenue was above that amount. Now in 1832, the two revenues were of the following amounts, respectively:—

Scotch Revenue in 1832	... £5,113,353
Irish ditto, 1832	... 4,352,000

As the Scotch revenue was 5,000,000*l*. in 1832, it far more than doubled the amount of 1800, and why has the Irish been nearly stationary for 42 years? There is no answer, but that all we hear about Irish prosperity is a mere, and certainly a very mischievous delusion. We cannot prosper under existing circum-

stanees. I shall show one reason, and quote from one of those eminent legal men who have left posterity so many fervid expositions of the enormity committed upon Ireland by the Union. The late Mr. Justice Jebb wrote one of the many able pamphlets upon that question, prefixing his name, and gave the following calculation of the effects it must produce on absenteeism:—

	Per annum.
Representative Peers at 5,000 <i>l.</i> ...	... £125,000
45 other Peers, at 3,000 <i>l.</i> ...	... 135,000
80 members of the House of Commons, 2,500 <i>l.</i> ...	... 200,000
100 other gentlemen, 1,500 <i>l.</i> ...	... 150,000
	<hr/>
	£610,000

In forty-two years this expenditure alone would produce 25,620,000*l.* This, I apprehend, is one very substantial reason why we should not prosper. I'll give another reason. We have lost the advantage of a sacrifice of 1,000,000*l.* a-year, which Mr. Pitt boasted that England made for the encouragement of our linen trade. I'll give a third. Mr. Spring Rice, showed by one of his returns in 1834, that we benefitted by paying lower rates of taxation than England to the annexed amounts:—

1801	... £1,350,924	1818	... £1,309,812
1802	... 1,443,286	1819	... 1,326,313
1803	... 1,658,930	1820	... 1,385,038
1804	... 1,787,801	1821	... 1,505,426
1805	... 1,806,343	1822	... 1,646,125
1806	... 1,811,614	1823	... 244,490
1807	... 2,318,051	1824	... 303,076
1808	... 2,147,624	1825	... 265,959
1809	... 2,336,010	1826	... 254,927
1810	... 2,168,873	1827	... 240,264
1811	... 2,176,029	1828	... 324,839
1812	... 2,156,585	1829	... 227,981
1813	... 2,010,989	1830	... 215,207
1814	... 1,536,760	1831	... 82,234
1815	... 1,336,101	1832	... 25,340
1816	... 1,097,766	1833	... 30,141
1817	... 1,406,792		

I invite the gentlemen opposite to compare the exemptions of the last ten years with the first ten, or to compare the last two years with the first two. We were favoured in the last two in these articles constituting the materials for manufacture and the prime necessaries of life, with an exemption of 56,481*l.*, but we were favoured in the two years close to the Union, and in right of our Parliament, to the extent of 2,794,110*l.* This is a another sub-

stantial reason why we cannot be prosperous. I'll give another reason without commentary ; the absentee remittances have been increased 2,000,000*l.* ;—and another reason, we remit now masses of the public revenue which was entirely unknown as a regular article of remittance before the Union. Suppose we raise 5,000,000*l.* of revenue in one way or another, and spend in Ireland on army, civil government, debt payable in Ireland, and other matters, 3,500,000*l.*, there is a balance of 1,500,000*l.*, and this goes to England, swelling the old and at present enormously increased drain of absenteeism. Now, while we had a Parliament no such drain as this was known, and here, I think, will be admitted to be an additional and very potential reason why we cannot prosper until some great change takes place. All these amounts put together make the enormous sum of 5,850,000*l.*, and there is a difference most unquestionably to this extent between 1843 and 1801 in the resources and means of advancement of Ireland. I say again we cannot prosper without a great change. We have been neglected by the British Parliament ; our wants or wishes have received no adequate attention from the British Parliament. Is this doubted ? I shall cite an authority which will not be disputed by the gentlemen opposite. Mr. Peel, as he was then called, was Chief Secretary of Ireland in 1819. He was then a gentleman many years accustomed to Parliamentary life, and who held a prominent position as a mere member in the House of Commons—to say nothing of the importance he borrowed from his official station. I find by the “Times” newspaper of the 10th of February in that year, that he is reported to have spoken as follows. The question before the house was a bill relative to the grand jury taxation, which has since swelled to upwards of 1,200,000*l.* a-year :—“Mr. R. Peel observed with regret the inattention and listlessness with which the house were looking on a question so important to the interests and prosperity of Ireland. For his own part he conceived that the affairs of Ireland, relatively situated as Ireland was towards us, and with the comparative minority of members which she sent to the British Parliament, deserved to engage the consideration of the house whenever they came before it.” Another paper made him regret the “impatience” which the house manifested, and say that “when he considered the little time which the concerns of that country occupy, he would be forgiven for saying that he thought some small attention should be given to her affairs.” There was what Mr. Secretary Peel had to proclaim to Ireland 19 years after the Legislative Union, and before any pretext could be borrowed, at least from Repeal agitation. I put it to any gentleman having an opportunity of judging, whether things have been improved since ? I spoke of the sacrifice made by England for the linen trade. It has vanished. It had vanished down to 20,000*l.*, and then to

10,000*l*, and it was withdrawn altogether by Mr. Goulburn in 1828. And it is remarkable that the last act of the British government, relative to the linen trade, was in defiance of a recommendation of a Parliamentary committee. A committee was appointed to report on the Irish linen trade in 1825. I hold its report in my hand, but I must make very sparing use of it at this advanced hour. This committee examined witnesses, and put upon its records a paper drawn up by the late Lord Oriel, in which the whole history of the Irish linen trade was given from its origin in this country. In that paper Lord Oriel showed that the Irish woollen trade was put down by force. He showed that the English houses of Parliament called upon William the Third to put down that trade, and that William the Third answered—"I shall do all in my power to suppress the Irish woollen manufacture." Lord Oriel showed that the Irish Parliament were induced to concur in this monstrous act, but that a compact had been regularly entered into with them, by which England bound herself to a perpetual protection and encouragement of the Irish linen trade. All the facts bearing upon the case having been before the Parliamentary Committee of 1825, they reported that the "annual grant of Parliament is still usefully voted for the encouragement and advancement of the linen trade in Ireland." They reported also "that it is the opinion of this committee that Ireland has claims undoubtedly strong upon the Parliament of the United Kingdom for every aid and encouragement necessary to the maintenance and support of the linen manufacture, at least to the extent of the annual Parliamentary grant made and confirmed under circumstances detailed in a document in the appendix numbered 1" (namely Lord Oriel's paper). Mr. Goulburn continued the grant in 1826 and also in 1827. He reduced it to 10,000*l*. in 1828, and then rubbed it altogether out of his estimates. The hon. member opposite (Mr. Guinness) has cautioned us in his address to beware of dismemberment—of a separation of the connexion. What the effect of this agitation may be on the connexion, if it prove successful in the restoration of the Irish Parliament, is mere matter of opinion, and I shall show the hon. member that there are authorities on both sides. In one of the debates on the Union every member who spoke against it avowed himself actuated by his wish to maintain the connexion. I shall read a list of the names, and shall quote the expressions used by each on this occasion:—

"Mr. Waller—It (the proposed Union) will weaken, if not dissolve, the connexion."

"Colonel Barry—It will impair the connexion."

"Lord Maxwell—It will be ruinous to both countries."

"Mr. Saunderson—It will endanger, perhaps dissolve, the connexion."

"Mr. Saurin—It will endanger the present happy constitution and connexion with Great Britain."

"Lord Matthew—The Union will tend more to weaken than fortify the connexion."

"Lord Cole—The strongest abhorrence of the Union is compatible with the most unshaken attachment to the connexion."

"Mr. John Claudius Beresford—It will undermine the welfare and subvert the liberties of Ireland, and endanger the connexion."

"Right Hon. W. B. Ponsonby—I oppose the Union from an anxious desire to maintain the connexion."

"Right Hon. George Ogle—A rejection of the Union is the only mode by which the connexion can be preserved."

"Mr. R. French—The preservation of the Irish Parliament will encourage and maintain the connexion."

"Mr. Gorges—The happy communion with Great Britain is best maintained by the constitution of 1782."

"Mr. George Ponsonby—The Parliament which so recently protected the Irish crown is the firm and saving bond of British connexion."

"Colonel Vereker—The Union will effect the downfall of Ireland, the annihilation of her independence, and the separation from British connexion."

"Mr. Lee was opposed to the Union because the people delighted in the British connexion."

"Mr. Bushe—Union is alienation from British connexion."

"Mr. Peter Burrowes—This Union not only menaces the connexion, but the constitution itself."

I think it should not require the authority of any of these gentlemen to convince us that any measure which can have a tendency to create discontent in the minds of a whole people, and inflict such injury on the prosperity of their country as we have witnessed, could not be an effective means of upholding British connexion. The hon. member has taunted my learned friend because he had not introduced the Repeal question during his mayoralty. It is, I presume, not usual in a chairman to be the originator of any proposition in an assembly over which he presides, and, I believe, this is the best explanation that can be given of the apparent omission. I have no doubt that if another gentleman filled the office of Lord Mayor in the last year we would not now, for the first time, be debating the question of Repeal. The hon. member doubted whether the facts relative to Cork and Wales were accurately stated, and he seemed to think that there was no wonder at all that such a distinction should be made between that principality and the Irish county, considering the wealth of the former. What does he conceive to be the wealth of Wales? I believe its rental forms a very small portion indeed of that of

Great Britain, and very little exceeds that of Cork, if it at all exceeds it. I can state with certainty its revenue, and inform the gentlemen opposite of a fact with which they are probably unacquainted. I hold a Parliamentary paper in my hand, and I produce these papers to show that our statements are not made on light or fanciful grounds. The hon. gentlemen opposite will not accuse us of a desire to practice delusion, but it may be imagined that we ourselves are deluded, and therefore I think it right to show that we speak "by the book" on these questions. Here is a Parliamentary Paper; it was published in 1832, and the Sessional number is 206. It states the relative amounts of the English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish revenue in that year, and there is no similar paper of a later date that I am aware of:—

The Irish revenue was £4,392,000

The Welch revenue was 348,000

This is the exhibition which the return makes of what the hon. member considers the superior wealth of the principality of Wales. That principality in point of fact, falls below Ireland in any of those pretensions to representation founded upon wealth. I have looked into the amounts of the revenue collected in the single port of Cork, and they exceed that of the principality of Wales. There are no annual records to be referred to in such a case, but I find that in one year the customs of Cork amounted to £263,000 and that in another year the excise amounted to £272,000. These amounts give, I believe, a fair average view of the revenue collected in the port of Cork, and their total is 535,000*l*. The receipts of Wales are only 348,000*l*. Cork, then, is entitled to more members than the entire principality of Wales on these very grounds on which Great Britain justifies her overwhelming numerical superiority in the House of Commons. If Wales have not a representation disproportioned to her wealth, Cork ought to return 43 members to Parliament. My learned friend spoke of 2 members referring to the rural population; the hon. gentleman corrects his statistics by observing that there are 8 members for Cork, including the borough as well as the city and county representation; but 8 are still 20 under the Welch representation, and they are 35 under what Cork is entitled to, if revenue be the proper guide in adjusting representation. I take the hon. gentleman's own grounds on this question. I look to the relative pretensions of Cork and Wales as indicated by wealth. I see that Cork ought to have on that ground, a great superiority, and, nevertheless, that Wales has more than three times the number of her representatives in the Imperial Parliament. I would put it to the hon. members sense of plain justice whether this be fair, and whether the whole country ought not to regard it as an insult as well as injury? The worthy Alderman (Purcell) is persuaded that the linen trade is in



a very flourishing condition at this moment, I can only say, that there are no data before the public on which this can be confidently assumed, and that it is believed in the best informed circles, that the more valuable branch of the linen manufacture is labouring under great depression. It is well known that the trade suffers at present from very injurious obstructions in France, and there appears, as yet, little prospect of improvement, at least in that quarter. Sir Robert Peel expressed a hope lately in Parliament, that a satisfactory commercial arrangement would speedily be effected with France. He spoke of branches of manufacture which would be served if this arrangement were carried into effect, but they were branches of English manufacture, and did not include Irish linens. In another quarter of the Continent Irish commerce is aggrieved, for the butter merchants of the south, have to complain of Portugal as loudly as the linen merchants of the north do of France. I know not how long it will require to restore matters to their former position in Portugal; but history tells us that there were obstructions in the port of Lisbon to the woollens and printed linens of Ireland in 1782, and that they were at once removed by the interposition of the court of London, acting in compliance with the prayer of a petition from the Irish Parliament. I shall only advert to one other topic, and it is suggested by an observation of an hon. member opposite, evidently borrowed from the speech of Mr. Rice, spoken on the repeal question in 1834. It is quite true that in most years since the Union, there has been a shew of attention to the affairs of Ireland, and Mr. Rice has made out a catalogue of no less than 174 commissions or committees on Irish affairs. What has been the practical good to Ireland? One of these committees decided that the bribes paid to Irish borough proprietors amounting to 1,250,000*l.* ought to be charged exclusively to Ireland. Has Ireland any reason to rejoice on this account; the same committee decided that the exchequers should be united without advising that Ireland should receive an equivalent. Is this a reason why Ireland should be satisfied with the management of her concerns under the Imperial Parliament? One of the commissions reported on Bogs, and presented able and valuable reports. It was engaged from 1810 to 1814, and the result of all its inquiries was, that the bogs of Ireland differ from the boggy, moory, and fenny lands of England, with regard to the facility of reclaiming, and still more so in point of value; that there are peculiar advantages in the process of reclaiming bogs in Ireland, arising from the quantity of limestone and limestone gravel to be found contiguous to them, and from the marl or clay which in so many cases, forms the substratum of the bog itself; that all trials that have been made by private individuals not only prove the feasibility of the general project of attempting the reclamation of these wastes, but afford strong grounds for the

belief that any capital expended on it would, in a very few years, afford a great and increasing interest, and would contribute to the wealth and prosperity of the kingdom at large, and lastly, that on the waste lands of Ireland might be practised the most profitable husbandry in the King's dominions; and that if proportionately to the extent of the Bog of Allen, and that of the Bedford level, stretching through the counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, one half, or one quarter of the money which was expended on the latter were appropriated to the manuring of the former, it would speedily attain a place among the more luxuriant pastures of Ireland, and far surpass the greater part of those of which England boasts."

This is the result of the inquiries of the Bog Commissioners, but of what avail has it been to Ireland. A committee inquired patiently and reported elaborately, in 1819, on the state of the poor, and from their labours the public learned that there is an "immense amount" of land in Ireland easily reclaimable, and convertible to the production of grain almost without limit for exportation. That this "immense amount" comprises three millions and a half of Irish acres, or about the fourth part of the entire island, and would provide for an additional agricultural population of two millions. Is Ireland one bit the better of this discovery? Another committee reported in 1822 on the local taxation of Dublin, but it was the business of the new corporation to prepare a petition, recently, in which we complain that after a lapse of 21 years, the recommendations of that committee have not in the main instances been carried into effect. Several of the committee have been on Grand Jury presentments, and yet we see that the Grand Jury rates, are annually augmenting, and that even Mr. Peel in his very imposing Chief-Secretaryship, could only reckon upon a "listless" and "impatient" house in discussing this or any other Irish subject. Of the 174 commissions or committees, it is to be observed, that many were on local and comparatively trivial matters, and that every report of the same committee has been set down in the account as a work of a distinct committee. Thus, a committee on Dublin taxation was appointed in 1822, the same committee gave some account of their labours in that, and the three succeeding years, making in all four reports, and they are set down in the catalogue of 174 as four distinct committees. Admitting, however, that the whole 174 were distinct commissions or committees, what have they done for Ireland? One of them sat in 1825 on the linen trade, and reported, as I have already described, but has Ireland now any advantage which she would not possess, with reference to the linen trade, if such a committee had never been heard of. I must come to a close. I have considered this subject long and maturely. I have convinced myself that Ireland has suffered and is suffering, and that it cannot be alleged

in defence of the Union that its articles have, in those instances, in which they chiefly concern this country, been fulfilled. I deliberately assert, that we have in no essential instance, "the benefit of the act" of Union, as far as benefit was intended or promised. I hold it that the Union was entirely needless for any purposes of England herself, and I believe, that if we never had a parliament and were at this day called upon to devise means of raising up the country we would come to the conclusion, that a local parliament is indispensable. Newfoundland had not a parliament until ten or eleven years ago, it was found that her population was increasing, that their affairs became complicated, and that there were wanted the means of keeping them together, and preserving amity and connexion with the mother country. Accordingly the government of 1832, the present Lord Ripon being the Colonial Secretary, resolved to confer the powers of organizing a parliament on the governor of Newfoundland, and in the despatch of that noble Lord, communicating this decision he stated, that the object of the government was to "secure the attachment of the people by giving them a large share in the management of their own affairs, by affording an open field for the free exercise of talents and public spirit; by providing honourable ambition with a free object and reward, by insuring immediate and careful attention to the various exigencies of society; and by promoting a frugal and judicious administration of public affairs." I believe that Ireland wants at present, on the various grounds stated, a parliament far more than Newfoundland did in 1832, and therefore I vote for the motion of my learned friend, satisfied that it is demanded by the treatment which this country has experienced, and that it aims at no object which is not as compatible with the security and advantage of Great Britain, as it is with the permanent happiness and prosperity of Ireland. (After returning thanks for the great attention with which he had been heard, Mr. Staunton sat down amid long-continued cheering.)

Mr. PERRY said he had only arrived in town that morning, having been on an uncongenial element the whole of the previous night; but he observed by the report in the public papers that the learned alderman stated, what they all knew, that he was an Irishman (hear, hear). He (Mr. Perry) only wished that they had a great many Irishmen such as he was, and their country would be in a different position; but there were measures of which in his opinion the worthy alderman did not take a practical or useful view, and he believed the present was one of them (cries of hear, hear, from the Conservatives). He, too, was an Irishman, though not purely of Irish descent, and if he had not performed much for his country, he hoped his intentions were always in the right direction, and that his actions were regulated by the best motives (cheers). He heard with very great regret the opening

part of Mr. Staunton's speech, in which that hon. gentleman alluded to a declaration made by the O'Connor Don, that five English merchants had more weight with the British government than the entire of those who represented Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. He (Mr. Perry) was sincerely sorry in being compelled to say that he believed in many instances, and on many subjects, it was the case. But why it was so? Why was it that four or five English merchants had more weight than one hundred and five Irish members of the British House of Commons? It was because no union existed among Irishmen—it was because the opinions of those gentlemen who represented Ireland were so disunited—they were so blinded by prejudices on one side or the other, there was scarcely any subject upon which they did not hold a different opinion. He believed that want of union and kindly feelings amongst themselves, was the great cause of their want of influence.

Mr. O'CONNELL—On the commercial questions we agree at both sides.

Mr. PERRY continued—It was because he thought the present discussion was not likely to lead to any useful results—it was because he saw it perfectly nugatory to present a petition on the subject—for of course, a motion to that effect would be carried, that, after giving the subject his most impartial consideration, he was decidedly opposed to it (hear, hear, from the Conservatives). He thought that on a subject on which great difference of opinion existed, their time might be more usefully employed, and if that time and energy were given in seeking for other objects, he had no doubt whatever but that a large amount of benefit would be conferred on Ireland (hear, from the Conservatives). Mr. Staunton alluded to a Report of the Railway Commissioners, and made a strange observation upon it, which he had heard for the first time, namely, that their statements, as regarded traffic were much overrated. He (Mr. Perry) knew of his own knowledge they were underrated; and there was one circumstance which he would mention as bearing upon the subject. Mr. Staunton said that the whole of the exports and imports of Ireland in the year 1825 amounted to twenty-five millions, and that in 1830 they were thirty-two millions. He happened to know that the imports of Irish produce into the port of Liverpool alone were fully ten millions; and if that were so, it was a tolerable proof that the statement of the twenty-seven or thirty-two millions was not exaggerated. Mr. Staunton also said with regard to exciseable commodities—such as tea, sugar, &c. &c.—that the increase in the consumption of those articles had not gone on of late in the same proportion as in other parts of the country.

Mr. STAUNTON—What I said was, that between 1825 and

1835 there was no increase, and I drew the inference that traffic could not therefore be on the increase.

Mr. PERRY continued—That was what he understood the honourable gentleman to have said, and it was because he drew a different inference that he mentioned the circumstance. It was well known that a large proportion of those commodities came into consumption for the last five years without any duty being paid in Ireland, because it was paid in Liverpool, and brought in here duty free.

Mr. STAUNTON—No, no.

Mr. PERRY would say yes. He had no wish whatever to misstate a single fact, and he reasserted, in presence of both sides of the house, that such was the case, and they would correct him if he were in error. Strong allusion had been made to the act of Union with Scotland, and strong authorities cited to show that for a considerable number of years that country derived no benefit from that measure. But what was the fact? Scotland remained in an unsettled state, and sought for the dissolution of that union. She looked for the attainment of other objects, instead of her own internal improvement; but when she abandoned that course, when she turned her attention to commerce and agriculture—in both of which she had been so successful—her condition was far otherwise; for he believed it was admitted on all hands the progress of Scotland to prosperity was equal to any portion of the United kingdom (loud cries of hear, hear, from the anti-Repealers). Strong allusion was made to the fact of every other country dependent on England having a local parliament except Ireland. Had not the Irish people one hundred and five members in the legislature, and he would ask, could Newfoundland, for instance, send her representatives to take their seats in the British House of Commons, or would they be admitted?

Mr. O'CONNELL—I wish they did the same to Ireland.

Mr. PERRY continued—A long list of authorities was read, to show the advantages a domestic parliament would confer on Ireland, and he was very far from combatting these authorities as an abstract principle. But these were given when the question of the Union was pending, and when the Irish people had a resident legislature. He wished with all his heart they had it that day; but it was because he saw it was utterly impossible to obtain it—it was because he well knew the Irish people were not sufficiently united—it was because he knew their voice was not sufficiently potent, and the unanimity with which England and Scotland resisted the measure, that he was opposed to it upon the question of Repeal, and he assured them that he did so with regret. These were the reasons, and the only reasons, why he differed from so many of his friends, in a word, he saw that the measure

was wholly impracticable. He would say, they never could expect to get a Repeal of the Union until they were united as one man (cheers, and loud cries of hear, hear, hear, from Mr. O'Connell). He saw no progress made towards achieving the measure, but the utmost difficulties against it (hear, hear, from the anti-repealers). It was for these reasons, and under these impressions, that he entertained an objection against any discussion upon it, particularly in that assembly. Absenteeism had long been spoken of as the great bane of Ireland; but he believed that for the last thirty years it was a growing evil, even in England; that the number found on the Continent attested that fact, and was well known to those who travelled, or read any thing upon the subject for the last few years (hear, hear, from the anti-repealers). His object in occupying the attention of the assembly and the public was, because he thought their attention and exertions would be much more usefully employed in seeking for measures they were likely to obtain. They had heard and knew that emancipation was forced from a reluctant ministry, and he believed it was utterly impossible that the same power which forced that measure would not enforce a redress of their grievances (cheers), if wisely directed to practical purposes. Much had been said with respect to the alleged increase of poverty and destitution in Ireland, and although he was free to confess that the condition of his countrymen was not such as it ought to be, nor such as he could wish to see it, he could not force his judgment to an admission that the growth of poverty in this country, within the last few years, was greater than in other portions of the united kingdom. He had been very recently in Lancashire; and if, judging from the appearances which presented themselves to his eyes upon that occasion, he could be justified in drawing a contrast between the augmentation of poverty in that district and in Ireland, during the last three or five years, he certainly would be inclined to say, that the result of the comparison would be in favour of the assertion that Ireland had enjoyed, in that term, the larger proportion of prosperity. He did not think that our trading interests had retrograded since the Union, in a ratio so large as was contended for by Mr. Staunton, and he differed more especially from that able gentleman in the calculation which he had made respecting the linen trade. It was maintained that the decline in that branch of trade was enormous (hear); but he (Mr. Perry) had been so circumstanced for some years back, that he flattered himself he was competent to pronounce a correct opinion on the subject. There certainly was an increase within late years in the linen trade of Ireland, and he did not hesitate to say that in differing from Mr. Staunton upon that point, he did so in consequence of his own personal observation. He could himself, at that moment, enumerate twelve extensive flax-mills which had been built with-

in the last six or seven years in one locality alone—namely, Belfast and its vicinity. Ten years ago there was not a single flax-mill in the north of Ireland. The first that appeared was erected about ten years ago, by a gentleman named Mulholland, and his example was followed within a brief period by no less than fifteen or twenty other enterprising individuals in the north of Ireland, and up to a few months ago, when the prohibitory duties were imposed by the French nation, each and every one of those mills were in a state of the highest prosperity. All he hoped was, that the present state of things in this branch of industry would continue; and if it continued to progress as it was progressing, he would be perfectly contented. In making this calculation he did not separate two branches of the trade—the linen and the yarn. He considered the question in its integrity and as a whole, for he thought that that was the fairest and most equitable manner of treating the subject (no, no, from Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Staunton). He regarded the matter otherwise; and provided a great number of hands were employed, and a vast quantity of capital expended, he thought it a matter of minor significance whether that large amount of labour and of wealth was laid out in spinning, weaving, or bleaching. Provided the country enjoyed the benefit of that prosperity in trade, he did not for his part care whether the advantage was conferred in meal or in malt. He trusted, however, that he would not be misconceived. He was far from saying that he was satisfied with the manner in which his country had been treated by England. He should be ashamed of himself if he were, for he felt that his country had suffered many and grievous calamities at the hands of England. Every day's experience demonstrated to him that the interests of his countrymen did not receive that attention from the English legislature to which they were entitled, and which the English legislature ought to consider it at once its duty and its interest to concede (hear, hear). He concurred with Mr. Staunton in the opinion that the Act of Legislative Union had not been carried into operation in the same spirit in which it was pretended to have been conceived, but he thought that in the present distracted state of popular feeling in Ireland, all hope of its Repeal was visionary, and he could wish to see the powerful intellect of Mr. O'Connell and the energies of that assembly, as well as those of the Irish people generally, directed to an unanimous effort to secure for the country the advantages which the Act of Union, if properly administered, had in its power to confer, rather than to see the energies of a nation broken down and emaciated, by being expended upon a project which appeared to be beyond the possibility of achievement (cheers from the Tory side of the house, and a laugh from Mr. O'Connell). He would again repeat, that if he had the slightest prospect of the agitation being

carried on to a successful issue, he would not refuse it his support, for he was not callous to the feeling of national pride which would result from the consciousness that Ireland possessed a Legislature of her own (cheers). But he saw that the people of this country were not united in looking for it, and he could not give his adhesion to the movement because he knew in his heart that, as long as that disunion of purpose and disparity of sentiment prevailed, it was altogether out of the question to expect success. Nothing short of the most perfect unanimity could ever achieve the object in such a manner as to render it advantageous to the country, for in his opinion, if Repeal were wrung from England in the hour of her distress by a mere section of the Irish people, the utmost dissatisfaction would pervade the land, and the ultimate consequence might be separation from the sister country, or a desperate struggle, which could only end in reconquest, and would subject them to all the horrors of those penal enactments and laws of oppression under which the Irish people had so long suffered. These were his opinions on the important question then under discussion; and he thought it right to expound them, in order that the gentlemen with whom he usually acted, might clearly understand the grounds upon which he differed from them on the present occasion (cheers from the Conservatives).

Mr. FOGARTY said he was a Repealer, not for the good of any particular creed or party, but to advance the interests, and promote the prosperity, of his native land (cheers). He had seen Ireland prosperous before—he had seen a parliament in College-green, and he hoped that he would live to see that happy state of things again. He had seen the Lord Lieutenant go down there to open the parliament—he had seen the streets lined—he had seen every thing in that way. He had, unfortunately, seen some troubles in Ireland, too, which he bore witness to when he was very young. He regretted it; and the reason why he regretted it was, that parties used to cut each others throats for the love of God (laughter). Oh! yes, it was for the love of God they done it. But at all events there was a stimulus given to it by the then government. In order to prevent any such occurrence for the future he was for Repeal. Something should be done to employ their unfortunate poor, in place of building palaces for them to starve, and building castles of indolence for the commissioners. To prevent massacre and destruction of life, he was for Repeal. He was for Repeal for the sake of the illustrious lady, the Queen, that was over them. He was sworn in allegiance to her grandfather—he did his duty as a red-coat for him, and he was ready to do it again (laughter, and hear, hear). In the year 1804 he saw the state of Dublin. He took a view of the river Dodder. There were twenty mills employed on the river Dodder alone in his memory (hear, hear). They were employed in the manufac-



ture of iron, wool, cotton, paper, bleaching, and other things. They employed about five thousand people in useful manufactures. He supposed there were fifty mills on the river Liffey ; and look at all the good those mills did. He had seen the Liberty in all its riches and in all its wealth. 150,000 men of George the Third's troops, were clothed from the Liberty, to his knowledge. Every thing that could give a useful impetus to trade was known in the Liberty. An extraordinary quantity for home consumption was manufactured, and still more for exportation. It done very well until the protective duty was taken off—twenty per cent. taken off. All the poor manufacturers of the Liberty were left to starve. He had also seen the coach-makers of Dublin in a most prosperous state. He had seen the Colliers, of Kevin-street, employing 500 persons. He had seen Messrs. Palmer and Co., in Peter-street—all these employed about two thousand persons. What was Kevin-street now ? An unfortunate rag shop from the upper to the lower end of it. The brick layers and masons were at that time 2,000 strong. Where were the employers of masons now ? Alas ! they were now reduced to a few, and these few were obliged to work for two pence an hour each day. Three pence an hour was the highest remuneration which the bricklayers and carpenters received. He recollected paying them 6s. 6d. a day. He had also paid labourers 3s. a-day, and gave every man into the bargain 6d. additional in the way of refreshment—that was three pints of porter each day (laughter). Some of the teetotallers present might wonder at this ; but he did not : and he said a few good pints of porter to hard working men of a cold day was a better stimulus than cold water (renewed laughter). An alderman stated that they were increasing in what was called “building.” He said that Kingstown was increasing in wealth and importance. That locality had arisen, but how had it done so ? What was the cause of it ? The unfortunate taxation upon the Liberty of the city of Dublin at large caused persons to live outside the Circular-road to save the taxes (hear). There was no man whom he more admired for his candour and honesty than the worthy alderman who had thrown his bread upon the troubled waters at the other side of the house. If he only went to the Liberty—but he was too young—however, he could read, and he must have read that the Liberty was once in a flourishing state. He had seen it, and he could speak of its former prosperity and present degradation. He would turn from that subject to the parish in which he resided. He knew that parish for 43 years ; there were 732 houses in it, out of which 400 were insolvent. Did this astonish them ? He said, nevertheless, it was a fact. Unfortunately the householders of Dublin knew this well, for they should pay the taxes. He recollected Bride-street being one of the most leading streets—full of cotton,

calico, and linen shops. He also remembered the time when the police were obliged to be sent out to keep order in Bride-street from Werburgh's Church to Peter-street; for from ten to four o'clock each day there was a continued line of carriages belonging to ladies who went shopping in those streets. He knew lords and bishops to reside where dairymen now lived. He had known Golden-lane, Chancery-lane, Upper and Lower Stephen-street, to have been the residences of lawyers; but now they were a continuation of rag-shops, so much so that the houses there were not worth half the taxes which were paid for them. In the street in which he lived there were houses for which once 800*l.* or 1,000*l.* fine, and 90*l.* or 100*l.* a-year rent had been paid; but now what fine was paid? What rent was given for such houses? (hear, hear). Then there was Kennedy's lane, once the residence of many rich hardware manufacturers. There was no such thing as a weekly tenant in Dublin at the time to which he alluded. Three months was the shortest period of tenancy. Now three or four families were huddled together in one house. They were laid upon a wad of straw like a goose's nest (laughter). He came next to a black subject. He supposed that the Lord Mayor, aldermen and council, had heard of Pye-corner—(great laughter)—and he could tell them that that neighbourhood was once so prosperous that Horish, a sweep, lent George Wildridge 1,300*l.* at 6 per cent., which was a proof that even a sweep at that time had a comfortable maintenance (laughter). He had seen Dublin when tradesmen of every description were well employed—were comfortable and happy. At that period also there lived in Dublin a great number of lords, members of parliament, and merchants. Lord Kilwarden lived at No. 60, Aungier-street, where he had a splendid retinue; but in which a smith now lived, and if he wanted a smith he would employ him (a laugh). Yes, he would. Mr. Cooper, one of the richest commoners, lived in Kevin-street. He was member of parliament for Mayo. [A Voice—No; Sligo]. Well, then, Sligo. He lived in a house in Kevin-street, which was now unfortunately converted into a school. [A Voice—Unfortunately!] God save him from his friends. He was about saying, that Mr. Cooper, a celebrated commoner, lived in a brick house in Kevin-street, and spent 10,000*l.* a-year in it, which was now, he believed, a school for the education of young females (a laugh). If gentlemen would have patience he would soon be done, and if they would not, he would keep them there till morning (a laugh). The Earl of Shannon and the Rev. Dr. Lefanu lodged at Peter Boylan's, and what do you think they paid? Why, nine guineas a week for their lodgings. Lord Shannon paid five guineas a-week, and Dr. Lefanu paid four guineas: and he would tell them an

anecdote of the Latouche family. Dr. Lefanu was a rector of two parishes in Wexford. [A Voice—Wicklow]. Suppose it was Wicklow—the Honourable David Latouche had the gift of a living; and in the course of time the Rev. Dr. Lefanu died. He had an old curate thirty years in the parish, and this curate begged of Mrs. Lefanu to make interest with the Hon. D. Latouche to grant him a continuance of the curacy. She wrote a letter of recommendation to the Hon. D. Latouche; and after reading it, Mr. Latouche said, “Are you the gentleman mentioned in the letter?” “Yes, I am.” “Well, I suppose you know the parishioners?” “I know them by their names—I could call them in the dark—I christened them all—so much so that I know every one of them.” “Well, you are the only man, in consequence of your knowing the people so long and your doing your duty so well, fit to be rector.” So he immediately appointed him; and the poor man was so overjoyed, that he went home and fainted. There was Del Vecchio, in Westmoreland-street, also, who once received 15l. a-week for his lodgings; but he would now be glad to receive 30s. a-week (hear, hear). This was a comparative view of what Dublin was and what Dublin is. The hon. gentleman then referred to the measures of the Whigs, one of which was the poor-law—the other corporate reform, and such a piece of hodge-podge and humbug never was enacted. If they gave them a bill to cultivate the waste lands of Ireland, the case would be different; but instead of employing their people, they prescribed for them as Dr. Sangrado had done, namely, by giving them plenty of hot water and bleeding them well (a laugh). They bled them well, no doubt, and for this reason they were depriving them of all their gentry and landed proprietors; and it was the intention of the friends of Ireland to see that justice was done to the country, and to prevent some big drummer, or other iron man, saying on any future occasion, —“If the Irish are sulky, we will give them what Paddy gives the drum, namely—plenty of good whacking” (a laugh). Alderman O’Connell had said that he had been up four nights to assist in putting down the rebellion of 1803. It was said that government knew nothing of it—they were all aware of it. The insurgents in Patrick-street had a powder-mill in full active operation, next door to the house of a Scotchman, named Mackintosh, and when all got drunk in making the powder it took fire, and the house was blown down (great laughter). Mackintosh was concerned in the rebellion, and invented a pike like a fishing rod, which could be carried under a coat. The government were aware of his doings, and paid him his wages by erecting a gallows opposite his own door, and hung him. Many a cold night he (Mr. F.) was out upon the canal doing duty over the fishes, and

what did he get? He got the "V's," and saw his country beggared by those whom he was ready to shed his blood to serve—aye, and he was ready to do so again. No man was more ready; but he recollected that he had a mother, and that mother was Ireland. She was oppressed and insulted, and he would be an unnatural son if he did not strive to protect her (hear). The honourable gentleman then stated that, in order to prove that the party with whom he acted in the Castle Ward had not been actuated by a disposition to obtain ascendancy, they had formed the resolution of electing two liberals and two Protestants; but finding that they could not do so, they were obliged to rely upon their own strength; and so patriotic and determined were the honest men of the Castle Ward that they sold their furniture to pay their taxes (hear, hear). He believed they had shown that they did not require ascendancy; and this he would say, that if Roman Catholics assumed ascendancy to-morrow he would meet them with the sword (hear, hear, hear). I have read, continued Mr. Fogarty, something of the decline and fall of nations—(laughter)—I have read Josephus—I have read Rollins' Ancient History, and Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, and they show the absurdity and danger of removing the seat of government from one place to another. Constantine the Great, (laughter) it was who removed the seat of the empire from Rome to what is called Constantinople (hear). Yes, that was so; and it can't be denied that from that period began the decline and fall of Rome, as Gibbon informs us. I feel I have trespassed on your attention—(no, no)—but I could not do my duty to those who sent me if I did not stand forth as their advocate and my own. As to the objection of Alderman Butt, that if there were a Repeal of the Union the Protestants would be cut up by those common fellows called Papists, I have not words to express my full ideas on that subject (laughter). I know that every man's religion has a right to be protected; and I would be the first to protect the Protestant, the Presbyterian, or the Methodist, even at the risk of my life. The happiness of Ireland is now at stake, and something must be done for her; all agree in that (hear, hear). I see no means of relieving her but by giving employment to the poor. You may all remember the fable of the ass in Æsop; but I'll tell it to you again. A certain man had an ass, which he had heavily laden, and an enemy coming on the man spoke to the animal to mend his pace, or he would be taken. "Will you put a heavier burthen on me than you have done," says the ass. "No," says the master, "because you could not bear any more." "Then if that be the case," says the ass, "it matters not who has me." This is the condition of the poor, and the only remedies are their employment, or a Repeal of the Union.

Alderman O'NEILL—Say both.

Mr. FOGARTY—I will say both if you like it ; for I wish to accommodate the worthy Alderman, and I have only to add,

The Queen, God bless her, and her subjects free,  
And Ireland as she ought to be.

Mr. Fogarty sat down amidst loud cheers.

Mr. DARLEY next rose and said he had a proposition to make, which he hoped would meet with the attention of the assembly. It was highly desirable the debate should close that evening, the result of which could be pretty well known ; and he therefore proposed that the hon. gentleman, the mover of the motion, should speak in reply and that then they should come to a division (hear).

Mr. KIRWAN objected to this proceeding. A number of the representatives of that house had not yet delivered their sentiments ; and it was not because a small number of gentlemen on the other side had used all the arguments they could adduce in support of their views, that two-thirds of the corporation were to be prevented from also giving utterance to their opinions (hear).

Mr. DARLEY said he withdrew the suggestion he had thrown out.

Mr. REILLY said—I rise, as it was the wish of the Liberator that every person should have an opportunity of giving expression to his opinions ; but I would have wished that some gentleman on the other side had spoken before me, as turn about is fair play. I would have wished it, as I am anxious to have some argument to grapple with, instead of the fallacies with which I have to contend (hear). Mr. Perry, for an opponent of Repeal, gave the most curious reasons that could be uttered by the mouth of man ; perhaps, as he belonged to the Society of Friends, he dreaded any thing like a collision, even of sentiment (a laugh). He urged that want of union amongst Irish members caused the government to disregard their wishes where the interests of their country were concerned. But is there not a greater disunion amongst the English members, who are more evenly balanced in politics ? Irish majorities have been 75 out of 105 ; and is it not most painful to reflect that their joint remonstrances would not have as much weight as five English merchants (hear) ? Mr. Perry admits that Repeal would bring the absentees home, and give employment, yet he opposed it ; on what grounds ? Difficulty. What he wishes for, and what would do good, he opposes, because of a difficulty which he partly creates by not joining for its removal (hear, hear). Why should difficulty stand in the way of a measure that he allows would confer such benefits on his country (hear) ? No difficulty ought to startle any man from struggling for his native land, for when the Liberator first struggled for Emancipation, he had not more than seven or eight gentlemen to

join him—but he had the people. Yet by degrees the gentry and the wealthy came and swelled the ranks of these seeking for religious freedom. The Repealers, if true to themselves, would soon be in the same position—let them show their strength, and they would not be trifled with. They would soon have the aristocracy, the Whigs, and people joined, which Mr. Perry says, is all that is wanted to gain Repeal; yet he would not join himself. I will take Mr. Perry's advice, but not his example. Allusion has been made here to-day to individuals, and the question has been attempted to be combated on the personal virtues of some of its opponents, rather than on its own merits. Allusion has been made to one respected gentleman who was said to be sacrificed to this question, and was every way entitled to a seat in this council. He admitted it, except that the constituents were Repealers, and he was not. My lord, the man who could complain of this appears to me not to have reason on his side. The man who could say we ought not to do what we think right to advance the cause of our country, because a good man may be disappointed, is like the man who would not allow a bridge to be built, because a ferryman might be broken (laughter). I think the Repealers were too long asleep on this point, and had they begun earlier they might have many now that hang back; many Whigs, who ought to take their place in the front ranks of the people, from their intelligence and wealth, but who now stand like the ass between two bundles of hay (except that, unlike the ass, they cannot take a nibble at both); we would have the Whigs, for they would be forced into one of three positions—to join the Tories, and turn traitors; retire into private life, and be as nothing; or, as they ought to do, join the people, and be foremost in their ranks (cheers). Mr. Perry urged that of late years Ireland had not retrograded as much as England. But admitting that to be so, it did not establish that Ireland was prosperous. But what was the proof it afforded?—That England had room to fall, while Ireland was prostrate (cries of hear, hear, hear). The Belfast mills were another rather unhappy proof of English fair play, and that therefore we did not require native legislative protection. What happened with respect to them when a commercial treaty with France was made? English manufactures were protected at the expense of the produce of these very Irish mills (cheers). As to Alderman Purcell, he set out by stating that the conduct of the government to the corporation was unexceptionable. But we know that though they lent money to the Kingstown Railway for an experiment in which there were nine chances out of ten of failure, yet when the corporation asked for a loan of but 15,000*l.* to save the citizens from a borough rate, the paltry favour was refused (hear). How was our remonstrance about taxes met by Lord Eliot? Satisfactory? No. Did the alderman's arguments tend to dis-

prove any of the Liberator's? Did they go to prove any good from the Union? Could he gainsay that Ireland was prosperous with its parliament with all its faults? No. But he told us he formed some societies which were joined by various parties; therefore we ought not to put the Repeal test. The alderman's speech was one of apology more than of argument—a defence of himself, not reasons for the vote he intended to give. Why speak in that tone? It would lead one to suppose he thought it necessary (hear). True, he formed an Agricultural Society, which I think did not do much for the poor of Ireland, as it was calculated to give the rich the good of the poor man's labour; but he formed it at a time that was very mal apropos—at a time when there was a strong and partial but successful effort to give food to the starving artizan (hear)—when it was thought that the effort might be as a green spot, that all parties could unite in the acts of charity (hear). Every effort was required to make that movement in any way successful. Yet the Alderman started (I think to the injury of the manufacture question) his Agricultural Society. He stands in a false position, and he seems to know that the people think so (hear). I mean no disrespectful word; for I will say of Alderman Purcell, a more generous man or a better employer is not in Dublin. I say this because I witnessed it. I have beheld the happy scene of industry and content consequent on the employment he gives, and I have a longing desire that that scene should be general in Ireland. He is a good employer, the best I believe in this city; but would he wish to keep that character to himself? What greatness is there in being first of one? If we had legislative protection, then to be first of the many would be a pre-eminence that any man might be proud of. The learned professions have not joined the Repeal, he says, but the reason is plain. Lord Ebrington's insulting and foolish declaration, that Repealers should get no places, is the cause. But that did us good; it took away the dishonest, the place-hunter, the man who wanted to use the people for his own purposes, and to let us know that the men who joined us were to be depended upon. For one rogue or coward that deserted us, thousands of sturdy, brave, and honest patriots joined our standard. We can afford to do without them; they will come in by-and-bye, when a few more tricks of the game are played—when to win is more apparent—and they will freely offer to partake of our winnings. I do not know that any thing Alderman Purcell alluded to requires more remark from me, except his remark that it will be a party question, and will make the Protestants separate from us. This I cannot believe, when I have such evidence before my eyes to contradict it as my valued friend and patriot, Councillor J. L. Arabin. Another venerated and respected Protestant gentleman (Alderman O'Neill) is a Repealer, having seen the woful con-

trast between Ireland now, and in the days of his youth; and do I not behold another respected and upright man, a sturdy Presbyterian too, Councillor Robert M'Clelland (hear)? And am I to be told that they love not Ireland, or are they false to their religion? No! There are men of all creeds in the Repeal ranks, and it is only natural it should be so, for love of country is natural to all men. I hail these names 'as happy omens that the time will come, nay, it is coming fast, that the question will not be who was Protestant or who was Catholic, but who were Ireland's friends and who were not—who was a Repealer and was not (hear, hear). Now, my lord, it is necessary for me to say a few words to Alderman Butt. I will read one extract from Plowden, stating the opinion of Mr. Fox in 1806 respecting the Union. On the motion that Lord Cornwallis, who died in India, should have monumental honours, a Mr. O'Hara opposed it on account of the part he took in carrying the Union. Fox's words were, that "he considered the Union was the most disgraceful transaction in which any country was involved." He also repeated his words on the next night, but said he would not disturb it, as he did not hear the parties injured seeking to have it altered. Now, we will take care that no English minister shall ever have that excuse again. We will remember the words of Fox and Althorpe, and demand our rights with a bold, united, and constitutional voice (loud cheers). I never was so sure of my ground as a Repealer as now. The learned Alderman who proposed the amendment gave me great comfort from his failure. He certainly did all that talent, learning, and ingenuity could do for his subject; but he could not make wrong appear right. He showed—and he worked very hard to show it—that nothing could be said against Repeal (hear). If any man could have argued against the question, he could; but he said nothing—he challenged the Liberator to discuss the "delusion" of Repeal, and, God knows, I'm sorry for him (laughter). Did he think that O'Connell had run away (laughter)? Never were tactics better managed. If O'Connell had been present on the first day his motion was fixed for, I fear there would have been no discussion from the opposition. It was the supposition that there would be nothing to do that caused the defiance to be given. I am proud for Ireland that its Liberator had brought forward a question that a gentleman of Alderman Butt's known abilities was not able to grapple with. The learned Alderman commenced by reading arguments from Wolfe Tone, a great man, a mistaken man, but, as he said, a lover of Ireland. What does he read? His arguments in favour of separation. He was a republican,—I am for a monarchy. He was for dividing Ireland from England; and it is most appropriate in the learned alderman to produce separatist arguments when arguing against Repeal. I am for Repeal,



because it will bind us by the golden link of the crown. I am loyal to my Queen. My loyalty is not that of Bradshaw and the English Tories (hear). I want Ireland happy with the connexion. He stands up for Ireland's misery to be continued, and he very properly preaches a doctrine that may be tempting to the miserable without hope, but possesses no charm for the wise while a safer and surer road to happiness is open (hear). But what did his argument amount to? We ask for legislative power; does he say we ought not to have it? He contents himself by saying that Wolfe Tone complained we had not executive power; that we had not ambassadors, &c.; that we were not known by our army or our navy. Why, we want not to be known by such matters—we want to be known as respectable through the arts of peace and commerce, not as we are now, a bye-word and a shame (hear, hear). Who leads that cry against us? England. Who writes our history? England. Who draws our revenue and rents? England. She is interested in continuing the present state of things; but shame on the Irishman who would lend a hand to his country's degradation. Some may hope yet from England's justice. You never can hope for honourable treatment from others until you first deserve it. First learn to respect yourselves, and no people but those worthy to govern themselves, are deserving of the respect of freemen (loud cheers). The alderman in his speech reminded me of a boxing match I read of in "Bell's Life," where one of the parties was strong and stalwart, and struck out tremendous blows: the other never made battle; but when he could not save himself by stopping and counter-hitting he uniformly fell out of the way (laughter), until it was at last deemed expedient for his sake to take him out of the ring. He, to avoid being struck by the arguments in favour of Repeal, kept shifting about and never approached the subject (hear); and he was right for discretion is the better part of valour. He talked of Repeal as delusion—how delusive his arguments in favour of Irish prosperity. He tried to show how Ireland's imports and exports increased; but we exported, as he proves, corn and cattle that we ought to eat, and we imported goods that we ought to manufacture (hear). Our imports and exports ought to increase as our population increased, but we were deprived of employment for our people, and their food was brought to the highest market. I would say the less of such prosperity the better. Canal traffic, too: why these canals failed since the Union, and at present the chief employment is the carriage of food. And next comes a most singular argument as Ireland is circumstanced—loan funds. They might be of use if there were trade for the employment of the loan, but such is not the case. I am glad the alderman is out of reach of their practical workings, or he would not speak of them as benefits to Ireland. I happen to have some experience of how those

loans work from being active in the Board of Trade for the promotion of Irish manufacture. I found that in many cases, a vast number, the loan was at first paid out of the capital, and when that source ceased the bail had to pay; so that if a moiety received a benefit it was more than counterbalanced by the expense of litigation and other causes, which often ended in the ruin of the poor borrower. Is that an argument against Repeal? He tells us the silk weavers complained before the Union. Yes, they were impatient under privations, and they complained and loudly. True, we hear none now. No; silence, repose—the silence of desolation reigns where the busy haunts of industry once were, and the governor is not annoyed to redress their grievances (hear, hear, and cheers). Oh, great delusion! Give your country repose. Does not every person know that repose is not to be enjoyed while we are fearful of its being broken. We have history to prove that we never got any thing for Ireland but by agitation. No, my lord, we will not repose while there is a wrong to be redressed—while there is a link of the chain upon the limbs of Ireland. The principle is ancient: that man is a slave who has not the power of self-legislation; and, independent of the interest, the honour, the existence of Ireland depends upon it (hear and cheers). We want to eat our own food not to send it away, as history tells us that no granary to another country was ever happy. Witness Sardinia, Sicily, and Egypt. Muller, the German, says of Sardinia:—"It is the most fertile of the earth, but, being conquered by Carthage, it was turned into a mere 'drawfarm,' deprived of any commerce unless with its mercantile tyrant, and treated with such barbarity that its inhabitants have never recovered the effects of the African dominion even to the present day." Yet, by proving us a granary, he (Alderman B.) attempts to prove our prosperity. He asks how he can benefit trade. I tell him to help to Repeal the Union. Give those starving employment not delusive arguments. Such arguments will not do. You may write and speak as you will of the good of this connexion. Argue with the peasant; what can you say that will make him forget that the Imperial Parliament made the law through the instrumentality of which his neighbours have been turned from their holdings? Go to your own Bandon, once the seat of flourishing manufactures: you may get them there to fear or damn the Papists; but for all that, the old and Protestant ascendancy Bandonite will shake his head, and contrast the state of Bandon before the Union and at present. I hear great talk of English capital. Independent of our having enough of our own if we were left it, how can we expect the Englishman to give us his money when he sees we could not take care of our own, when we have no protection for our trade, and he knows how jealous his own country is of our prosperity. It is said that Repeal is des-

perate, impossible; every thing is impossible to him who will do nothing, and such men remain slaves for ever, for they want the courage to be freemen. I have heard that we could not get the gentry to join us, nor the peers; I heard great sympathy expressed for the condition of the peers if we had Repeal. What is their condition now (hear, hear)? Without any privilege of their order, but the mere exemption from arrest (hear, hear). They were marked men all over the earth; men whose fathers sold their country, and who were not entitled to the respect of the worthy of the land. I once heard a story of George III. which was applicable to show the opinion and respect in which these men were held. A person waited on his majesty to beg a compliment on behalf of a friend. The King inquired what it was, when the applicant said it was that a small gate might be opened into St. James's Park by a certain gentleman whose house adjoined, in order that his children could go in and out without fear of danger. His majesty said, "What! is it break a gate into one of the royal parks, impossible. If you had asked for him to have been made a peer it would be quite another thing, I mean an Irish peer." (cheers and laughter). Nothing could ever be expected from England towards Ireland. When she grew charitable to that country it might be considered as one of the signs of Antichrist. England was adding a fresh stigma on Ireland every day. When I am told that this question would make a division between them, that they would not get the gentry and men of property into the Irish House of Commons. I treat the assertion with contempt. It was in the power of the gentry and the men of property to deprive the Liberator of his power if they treated their poor fellow-countrymen as they should. I have heard of the alderman using his energies against corporate reform. I heard of his predicting the want of success in our corporations, yet I have seen him here bow to O'Connell as Lord Mayor; he cannot, therefore accuse me of being too sanguine if I hope to see him a member of the Irish Commons, bowing to O'Connell the speaker (cheers). Oh, my lord, I have a high hope for my native land; that God who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb and gave us the lovely isle for a birth-place and a dwelling, will make it a glory to him and a blessing to us (hear and cheers). I love to battle for her—my heart is light in the combat—it makes the Liberator younger in heart, fresher in blood than the more juvenile alderman who moved the amendment (laughter)—patriotism has that power. How my heart sinks when I see a chained eagle; my spirit sorrow when I behold talent that ought to be a light and glory to its native land, prostituted to its shame and degradation. Allusion has been made to Scotland, and the mentioning of forty years by the Liberator was chuckled over as a godsend. Now, that forty years reminded me of another forty years, the wanderings of the

Israelites in the wilderness. How similar to Ireland—both had a Moses to lead and guide them (hear, hear, and cheers). One brought his followers in sight of the promised land, but was not allowed to enter—perished for want of faith on God's power and mercy; he struck the rock twice to bring forth the waters, but Ireland's Moses never doubted, he struck but once and the living waters of agitation were produced, of which we drank and were strengthened (cheers). Yes, we will follow him and may his faith be rewarded by entering into the land of liberty, and may he long enjoy the prospect of the happiness he is so powerfully struggling to produce (cheers). I have much to say, but at this hour I will not intrude longer than merely to say, I will yield to no man in this assembly in respect and esteem for your Lordship; nay, I have a love incommensurable with what is generally felt for public men. Yet, my lord, truth, and honour, and manhood, compels me to answer the taunt thrown out when this question was put upon your personal merits. My lord, high as you deservedly stand in the estimation of your fellow-citizens—respectable as other opponents of Repeal may be, yet I say that in this house there are Repealers as honest, respectable, as esteemed, as any of those gentlemen who may be opposed to it (cheers); and I regretted to hear your lordship say that you would not have taken that chair had you known that certain questions were to have been brought forward (hear). Your lordship and the House will perceive that if your principle were to be acted upon, it would require a “bill of particulars” of the year's motions, before we could venture to elect your successor (a laugh). I am an humble man, I have no claim to a seat in this house, except that my constituents knew me for an ardent and somewhat loud Repealer—a Repealer to give strength to Ireland; for our own strength is our best protection (cheers). England would never let us rise with her in prosperity, we ought to take care that we are in a condition to prevent our sinking with her in consequence of her misfortunes, (Mr. Reilly sat down amidst loud cheers).

It having been past six o'clock the discussion was further adjourned, Mr. Symes having intimated that he would proceed first in the morning to support the amendment of Alderman Butt.

### THIRD DAY, THURSDAY, MARCH 2ND.

Shortly after twelve o'clock, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor took the chair, when his Lordship announced that Mr. Symes had intimated to him that his absence at that hour was caused by his being obliged to attend a funeral, but he would hasten to the assembly as soon as possible; in the mean time it would be right that some other gentleman should proceed with the debate.

Alderman J. BOYCE then rose, and said he did not purpose to occupy the attention of the house at any length, because it was

not his intention to follow the arguments used for or against the Repeal question. His object was to express the great regret which he felt that the measure had been introduced into the house at the present moment, or at all. When the Act for reforming the corporation was being passed, he feared that the assembly would be made a political arena, and with this feeling strong upon his mind, they would recollect that upon the first day they met there he asked Alderman O'Connell what course he intended to take in case he should be elected upon that day to the office of Lord Mayor; the answer which the hon. and learned gentleman gave was fresh in the recollection of that house; and he did not mean to say, so far as his presiding in that house was concerned, that he had not kept perfect faith with them, but the learned gentleman had thought that time a fitting one to introduce the measure. They were there under an Act of Parliament which required alterations to make it in any manner useful. They should remember that they could not get those alterations made without the consent and aid of the government of Ireland. One of the first acts of the corporation was to inflict an insult upon the Irish government; and if they passed the resolution then before the house, they would add injury to insult, and put themselves in direct hostility with the government of the country. He would ask that house would they then be in a condition to ask a favour of the Irish government? He would say certainly not; they should look at the picture upon the other side. Suppose they had been pulling together for some time in perfect harmony, exerting themselves to the best of their abilities, collectively and individually, to carry out a certain measure of good, he thought they could make an irresistible claim upon the government to alter that bill in such a way as to enable them to work out the objects contemplated in its enactments; and, indeed, they would thus do more for their country than by taking any other course, because they would set an example to other corporations, and make the measure beneficial to all the country (hear, hear). For these reasons he considered that the introduction of the measure was exceedingly inconvenient and impolitic as regarded the prosperity of the corporation. Mr. Fogarty had said on a previous day that there should be either a Repeal of the Union or the employment of the people (hear, hear). The latter proposition was exceedingly reasonable, and there was not a man in that house who should not, in every practicable way, endeavour to employ the poor, and it was within the range of the operations of that assembly to be greatly instrumental in such. He would go farther, and ask the hon. gentleman to exercise his mighty and gigantic powers for the amelioration of the people in that respect. The task was not as difficult as might be imagined. They had waste lands in Ireland, the cultivation of which would employ thousands—the introduction of railways

would also do much (hear, hear). There was an instance of that in the Drogheda Railway Company, which, although a short line, employed a few hands short of 6000 each day. By these means—by their unanimity—these objects could be easily achieved; and if Alderman O'Connell set his mind to commence an undertaking of this kind, he would have all the advantages of having the community at large co-operating with him. The government of the country were not unfriendly to railways in Ireland. Upon the contrary, Sir Robert Peel expressed himself very friendly to the introduction of railways, and when a deputation from the Drogheda Railway Company waited upon him, he (Sir R. Peel) said it had his cordial assent, and similar companies would have his assent too if they made a similar case (hear, hear, and cheers). What was that claim? The undertaking to be commenced, capital to be subscribed, and according as the property of private individuals were invested in the project, the government would lend in proportion the required money, and thus further the object in view. They had a great deal of enterprise amongst them, but still wanted a very material part to carry those operations into effect to entitle them to get government sanction to their projects. They wanted capital, and he believed that they would not have any difficulty in getting the capital from the sister country, if they could show that they would get a safe return for their money; but how could they convince them of that if they were disunited, and how could they answer the remark, “You are quarrelling amongst yourselves, you cannot keep faith with us, because you do not keep faith with yourselves.” If the corporation turned their attention to the introduction of railways they would find it to be the key of Irish prosperity. If the learned alderman directed himself to such undertakings as those, he would conciliate all parties, and would be fully able in his proper place to exert his abilities with proper effect—he would leave a name upon record, and he hoped he would long live to see the good fruits growing out of his acts, and look upon Ireland as he had often hoped to see her—

Great, glorious and free,  
First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea.  
(hear, hear, and cheers).

He begged to say in conclusion that he was totally opposed to the motion for a Repeal of the Union being introduced into that assembly, and therefore supported the amendment of Alderman Butt (hear, hear, and cheers).

Mr. M'KENNA said he rose not to answer the arguments of the gentleman who spoke last, whom he regretted exceedingly had not applied himself to the question before the chair. That gentleman regretted the introduction of the measure into that house, inasmuch as it was calculated to embroil the corporation

with the present government—he regretted that any thing should be done in that house that would be calculated to give offence to the government, but he (Mr. M’Kenna) could not forget that they were the representatives of the second city in the British empire, and that they were bound by the solemn declaration that they had taken on entering the assembly, to devote their time and energies to bettering the condition of that city; and men of all sides of the house must agree with him that the Repeal of the Legislative Union would accomplish that object (cheers). There were none of them who would have the hardihood to deny it, and in seeking for Repeal they were simply performing a great duty they were bound to discharge (hear, hear). As to the hostility of government, or friendship, or even decent treatment from them, the corporation had cogent reasons to expect nothing of the kind. They asked from the government the loan of fifteen thousand pounds, to pay the registering barristers and other expenses, to prevent them from levying a borough-rate on the citizens of Dublin, but they were contemptuously refused [hear]. They sent a deputation to call upon the Irish Secretary to put the management of the taxation of Dublin into the hands of the representatives of that city, and was there any hope that that would be done? None (hear). Therefore, so far as the government were concerned, if they did not compel them to do justice they could not expect they would do it by acquiescence (hear and cheers). The hon. gentleman spoke about allowing things to go on in a quiet way, and that they would get all those promised blessings; but it was in his (Mr. M’K’s) recollection, and it must be in that of the house, that when the then Irish Secretary brought a proposition into parliament for granting a loan of three millions for the establishment of railroads in Ireland, the effect of it would have been to mortgage the entire property of the country, to pay the interest and secure the repayment of the principal. How was that proposition met? The gentleman who talked about repose, or rather the gentlemen who represented them in the house, were opposed to that grant to Ireland. He said that English capital would flow into Ireland if there was any security for that capital, and if they had peace and union amongst themselves. But they wanted none of that capital: all they wanted was to keep their own capital where it ought to be (cheers). They had a hardy, industrious, painstaking, and sober population; all they wanted was labour, which was the source of all capital. Upon the last day of the debate a respectable Alderman enumerated all his sacrifices, and he was free to concede he had made sacrifices in the public cause. There was one thing in his speech that he regretted, and he expected to hear different sentiments from him. There was some time ago a society called the Precursor Society, and he found in the records of that society the

hon. gentleman paying 50*l.* for precursor tickets. The object of that Precursor Society must be known to the members of that house. It was to make a final and last effort to obtain justice and equality with England and Scotland that trial had been made, and equally failed, and instead of granting any thing they wanted they were met with insult. He recollected that at a former period there was a society called the Leinster Declarationists, and they pledged themselves—the nobility and gentry, headed by Ireland's Duke—that full and ample justice should be done to Ireland (hear, hear). Had that pledge been redeemed? It had not (hear). He regretted that a gentleman who was a Precursor, and who, engaged in making a last appeal to the justice of England, should have risen in his place on the preceding day, and spoken against the only measure of justice that would bring prosperity to his native country (cheers). At least when he found all others to fail he ought to join in the final effort. The worthy alderman who moved the amendment spoke about national independence, and read an abstract from the writings of Wolfe Tone to show they had no national independence before the Union. He said first “What was the meaning of Irish national independence, ours was not the case of an ancient monarchy removed, the traces of which could still be pointed out; nor was ours the case of a land which was bound, hand and foot, to another country dissimilar in habits, differing in religion, having no common sympathies, and ungenial in feeling—such was not the relative position of England and Ireland.” He said that that was not their case. He (Mr. M<sup>K</sup>) said it was their case exactly—nothing could be more perfect (cheers). They were bound hand and foot to another country—a country dissimilar in habits, and differing from them in religion—a country having no common sympathies with them, and ungenial to them in feeling (cheers). The Chancellor of England—the man who was the keeper of the conscience of the Queen—had called them aliens in blood, aliens in language, and aliens in religion (hear, hear). They were taunted with having no army or navy, or ambassadors, but if he (Mr. M<sup>K</sup>) wanted a reason for being a Repealer, the want of those things would make him an advocate for Repeal (hear, hear). They wanted no army or navy, or ambassadors; the very outfit of an ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg would go a great way to pay the expense of the borough rate at all events (laughter). They wanted no navies or armies; they had no conquests to make; they sought not to cut the throats of their fellow creatures; they had no Cabool to sack, nor did they want to immolate old women and children (hear, hear). Therefore they wanted not an army or navy, and they would be saved the expense of both by the Repeal of the Union (hear, and cheers). With respect to the navy, there was a great deal of boasting about the



meteor flag of England "that had so long braved the battle and the breeze;" but he would ask what had that done for the Irish people (hear)? It had done nothing for them, but had steeped them in debt, for which their property and inheritance were mortgaged (hear). It was a fine boast to say that the British fleets had swept the channel, and that England was mistress of the seas; but what good had that done to the Irish people (hear, hear)? Let them repeal the Union and they would have no army or navy to pay, or ambassadors to pay—they could form a treaty of commerce with France; she would take their linens, and they would take her wines, and fruits, and silks in return (hear). They could form a treaty of commerce with Portugal; she would take their pork, butter, and salt fish, and they would take in return her oranges and port wine (hear). Some of the gentlemen on the other side knew this as well as he did, and therefore, with the exception of Alderman Butt, did not touch upon it. The motion was opposed by some gentlemen who called themselves Whigs, but who generally voted with the Tories there (hear, hear). It was quite in keeping for the Whigs to denounce the Repeal, and much they had made of it. The learned alderman asked in the next place—"Did they imagine that the heartless, grinding Tory aristocracy of Ireland, would ever consent to the establishment of fixity of tenure?" He (Mr. M'K.) did not call them a heartless and grinding aristocracy at all; but Alderman Butt did. But he (Mr. M'K.) asked, if they had a House of Lords in Ireland sitting in College-green, would they for their own honor—for their own safety—refuse to give those depending on them fixity of tenure? The reason they did not get fixity of tenure was, because they had no nobility or gentry in the country. Let them Repeal the Union, and they would have the nobility and gentry in the country. He said again—"Before six years after the establishment of an independent parliament in Ireland, deadly hostilities would spring up between the people and the gentry, and would lead to the establishment of a fierce and wild democracy." He (Mr. M'Kenna) totally and emphatically denied that prophecy (loud cheers). But he would say, that if there was any thing at all calculated to create "a fierce and wild democracy," it was the continued insult and oppression to which their country was subjected, and the resistance that was given to the only measure that could confer happiness and prosperity on the kingdom, and that was the Repeal of the Union (cheers). If they kept the great masses of the people separated and distinct from the nobility and the gentry, then the result must be,—the establishment of a ruthless, fierce, and wild democracy. He (Alderman Butt) said again, that the agitation of the question was calculated to make it a Catholic question. He (Mr. M'Kenna) must deny that (hear, hear). It was made a frequent boast, and

with great truth, that almost all the wealth and landed property of the country belonged to the Protestant gentry; and they were not such fools as not to know that their property must increase in the same ratio as the prosperity of Ireland. It could not, therefore, be called a Catholic question, so long as Protestant interests could be served by it (cheers). The Protestant church had been alluded to in the course of the debate; but he (Mr. M'Kenna) thought that the Protestant church had done more injury to Protestantism in this kingdom, than all its enemies put together (hear). It was stated that all they wanted in Ireland was repose. What was the meaning of the word repose? (hear). Alderman Boyce, who used the expression, must know, that he never would have made all the hard cash he did, if he had continued in repose (hear). No man knew better than the worthy alderman, the inevitable and sure result of manly, energetic, and well-directed exertions (cheers). He supposed gentlemen wanted for them the repose of death; but he would ask them, if any of them saw a friend bleeding and exhausted, would he leave him to sleep in the hope he would recover? Would not his first efforts be to administer to him cordials and relief? Repose at present would be the sleep of death to Ireland. She was bleeding at every pore; her life-blood was draining from her. What was the meaning of repose but to leave her to perish? No; instead of leaving her in her present condition to repose, they should bind up her wounds, they should stop the stream, they should not allow her life-blood to be wasted, but should administer to her that cordial that was necessary for her recovery (cheers). The learned alderman (Butt) in throwing himself as it were upon the mercy of the Liberator, said he had curtailed the revenues of the church. True, he had achieved Emancipation; most true, he had established a system of education for his country, which was sanctioned by the prelates of his church; true, he said he had achieved all these things, and it was because he had achieved them, that he (Mr. M'Kenna) should struggle with him, and call upon him, emphatically, to follow up the course of patriotism before him, and never cease his glorious career until he gained legislative independence for his beloved country (cheers). The Tory party complained of the present corporation being in debt, and a most extraordinary admission was made by a leading member of the old corporation—a man who knew well the venality of that body—that was Mr. Long (hear, hear). At a public meeting some time ago, in making an apology for the profligacy and venality of the old corporation, he said their debt arose for the purpose of maintaining an English influence in that city. They robbed the citizens of Dublin of their money, and for what purpose? For the purpose of maintaining an English influence, admittedly destructive of their manufacturing industry, in the city of Dublin,

and he might have added, throughout all Ireland. He made that admission. It was, he confessed, an extraordinary one, and still he made it; but it was quite characteristic of the party who were opposed to Repeal. It appeared to him (Mr. M'Kenna) to be quite conclusive, that there could be neither peace nor repose in the country, without the concession of one great measure, and that was the Repeal of the Union (cheers). A great deal of time had been taken up with the discussion; but he thought the proceedings would be read with interest. It would occupy the attention not alone of the citizens of Dublin, whose interests were so vitally concerned, but it would likewise engage the attention of the Irish public at large; and of the legislature, too, if they valued the interests of the British empire (Mr. M'Kenna sat down amidst loud cheers).

Mr. SYMES, who had on the previous evening intimated his intention of opposing the motion, entered the assembly, and was proceeding to the side of the house usually occupied by the Liberal members, and at which Mr. O'Connell was seated—

Alderman O'CONNELL—Go to your own side of the house, Mr. Symes (laughter).

Mr. SYMES rose and said, engagements that he could not control had prevented his commencing the debate that morning. It would please them, however, to hear that it was not his intention to occupy many moments of their time. After all the arguments which had been adduced on both sides of the important question under discussion, and on the third day of the debate, it would ill become him to go at length into the various topics that had been thrown out for their consideration. He hoped that day might close the discussion. He, however, felt that a silent vote on the question would not be right, and he consequently took the liberty of shortly stating his views (hear). In common with the learned gentleman who moved the amendment, he deprecated the introduction of the discussion now going on within these walls, being convinced that the result must be to destroy all hope of their privileges being extended, as they were justly entitled to have them extended (hear, hear); and moreover, that it must tend to create dissension and strife amongst themselves (hear, hear). In proof of this, it was only necessary to call their attention to the decree already put forward, and the declarations made yesterday, that no Liberal should vote for any member at any future election who did not take the Repeal test. Must not that tend to create strife and ill-will? (hear). He was not the advocate of liberty of conscience who could put forward such a doctrine. Personally he did not regret that such a resolution should be acted upon; for, although, he would never desert his constituents, yet he could assure them, and the honourable member who uttered that opinion, a greater favour they could not confer

on him than to relieve him from the trust which his vote on the question would disqualify him from any longer holding (hear). He felt it difficult to sympathise with men who could not tolerate, even in a corporation, the existence of any one who did not fully coincide with them on that particular question (hear, hear); and when he heard from the same quarter that the Lord Mayor was to be sacrificed, as well as Alderman Purcell, who had fought so many battles for the Liberal party, he confessed he was not only convinced that the discussion of the question here must beget strife and disunion, and thus tend to the injury of the citizens at large, but must lead to the annihilation of the whole body. Why it was manifest, however, that the honourable mover of the resolution had placed himself in such a position with the public and the assembly, that the discussion of it was unavoidable, and he confessed, personally, he did not regret it. Hitherto they had been in the habit of hearing one side of the question, they had now an opportunity of hearing all sides—and he did assert, that whatever doubt he had in his mind previous to this discussion as to the expediency of Repeal, the debate convinced him that the carrying of it would be the destruction of the empire (cheers). Having said so much, it might appear strange he should admit the hon. member (Alderman O'Connell) to have proved every one of his nine propositions—the last excepted—proved them satisfactorily one after another; and yet he (Mr. Symes) asserted he had not touched upon the vital question really at issue (hear). What are these nine propositions? (Mr. Symes here read them). The last is the only one that bears upon the question, and it was with that he (Mr. Symes) contended; he asserted that not one of these propositions, save only the last, touched upon the real question at issue. That question was, can the Union be repealed without a civil war, and without a separation being the result? (cheers). In his (Mr. Symes's) opinion it could not; he was certain, at least, that separation must ensue. The hon. member (Alderman O'Connell) or his supporters had not argued this question; they absolutely avoided it (hear, hear). He expected full information on that head, and yet he got none. It was admitted on all hands that separation would be ruin to both countries—Was it not? hear, hear). Consequently, he had only to satisfy his mind, and he hoped those of his hon. friends, the supporters of the motion, that such must be the case, in order to justify him and them to negative the question (hear, hear). In support of that view he asked them, as rational men, did they imagine for a moment that the Tory parliament of England would co-operate for one year with that of Radical Ireland?—that on any one great question they would come to the same conclusion? He (Mr. Symes) was thoroughly convinced it was utterly impossible. The honourable member (Mr. O'Connell) admitted himself he would

not consent to pay more than a certain portion of the national debt (hear, hear). Here at once they had a pretty little cause of quarrel to commence with, independent of numberless others (hear, hear). Suppose, then, that they once had a parliament of their own properly elected. Did they conceive that the "golden link of the crown," supported even by the power of England, could compel them by force to pay one sixpence, or do any one act they did not like (hear, hear). Such a thought in his (Mr. Symes's) mind was idle in the extreme—England had not the power. Well, we find the two parliaments disagree on a question of peace or war, or any other vital question; the one or the other declines to grant supplies—a civil war ensues, and some great common enemy defeats both by defeating the one or the other—and they would become, in truth, a wretched country, a miserable people. He (Mr. Symes) could perfectly well understand Repeal being advocated if separation was meant, but he could not understand it as at present put forward (hear, hear). He (Mr. Symes) asserted that the hon. gentleman (Alderman O'Connell) and his supporters had disappointed him, in not stating distinctly the terms upon which they proposed that the governments of the two countries would be carried on so as to prevent collision or separation. They avoided the whole thing—the true gist of the question at issue (hear, hear). He (Mr. Symes) asserted, that before any member of that assembly was warranted in voting for a question—which must work so great and so organic a change in the constitution of the empire—he must be convinced that it would confer benefits on the country that could not be otherwise obtained (hear, hear). He asked the hon. (Alderman O'Connell) to point out any one great and general benefit which this country could receive, and which a just and fair representation in the imperial parliament would not give them. Of course he did not speak of Dublin, or of the professions or of any minor advantage so much spoken of; but he spoke of any great national benefit. As yet he had not heard one named. Surely every reflecting mind was bound to consider how the countries were to be governed, so that separation did not take place, before he voted for the Repeal. No; not one word on the subject had they heard from the honourable mover (Mr. O'Connell) or his supporters. He (Mr. S.) was forced therefore to think that he (Mr. O'C.) could not satisfy him on these most important points; and he was the more convinced of it; as, when this and other objections to a Repeal of the Union were ably put forward by Mr. S. Crawford, although the hon. Alderman (Mr. O'C.) promised to reply to them, he never heard that he did so.

Alderman O'CONNELL—Read O'Neill Daunt's reply.

Mr. SYMES (continued) No; the fact was, Repeal without

separation was idle (hear, hear). What then must be the result? Why that every nation on the earth would insult and despise England and Ireland; and then on the first occasion of one being engaged in a war of which the other happened to disapprove, they would not only lose their influence all over the world but would likewise lose their colonies, and perhaps be trampled upon by a third-rate power. It was not a question of pounds, shillings, and pence—it was a question in which the fate of the greatest and most powerful empire in the world was deeply concerned, of which they formed a large portion. Neither was it a question of Protestantism or Catholicity. He (Mr. Symes) was not afraid of having his throat cut or his property injured if Repeal was carried; but he dreaded the result as calamitous to the interests of the empire at large. He (Mr. Symes) was quite satisfied if Repeal was carried to-morrow, he and his fellow-Protestant countrymen would be ten thousand times better treated than they ever treated the Catholics. The days of bigotry and persecution were gone by—they never could return to a country like that (hear). On many questions he was ready to admit all that was urged by the advocates of Repeal. He was satisfied that if England did not exist Ireland had the power to be a great and independent nation; but that they could be a far greater, wealthier, and more happy people by a closer union with England than they now enjoyed, or what they could enjoy by any attempt to be wholly independent of her (hear, hear.) There was one remark in the able statement of the hon. Alderman (O'Connell), which he regretted fell from him, as it much shook his (Mr. Symes's) confidence in him, that he did not look to more than simple Repeal (hear). He (Mr. O'C.) rejoiced "that there was no real Union between the two countries (hear, hear). Why rejoice at it if real Union was his object? (hear, hear). No doubt that fact—which he (Mr. Symes) admitted to be true—very much assisted him in pressing forward that momentous question: and in bringing forward Belgium as an instance of the blessings attending local legislation, the hon. gentleman gave them a pretty broad hint that that was a case in point with respect to Ireland (hear, hear). On the other hand he (Mr. Symes) deplored the fact "that they had not any real union between the two countries" (hear, hear). He fully admitted they had it not; and whilst he deprecated the use of that language, he equally denied that of Alderman Butt, when he stated that Ireland "was making a rapid advance, and that they should be content to remain as they were" (cheers). He (Mr. Symes) could not help thinking that both gentlemen were wrong, but sure he was that the misgovernment by England of Ireland (and which he must freely admit to be true) had much warped the judgments of the people, blinded their understanding, and for a time had rendered

them incapable of coming to any unprejudiced conclusion on such a subject; and he would say that it behoved England, before it is too late, to take from them all real cause of complaint, otherwise Repeal would be carried as sure as they were living men (loud cheers). He (Mr. Symes) was not one of those who thought that question chimerical (hear, hear); at the same time he thought its being carried would be their utter ruin (hear, hear). He thought that nothing could prevent its being carried, except ample justice be done to Ireland; not "the justice to Ireland" of Colonel Jackson (hear, hear), but real substantial justice; and that alone could be done by giving Ireland her proper position in the imperial parliament (hear, hear). Yes, he asserted, that if Ireland was fully and fairly represented in the Imperial Parliament, it would be vastly better for her and the empire at large, than to have a legislature of their own. The hon. gentleman (Mr. O'Connell) almost admitted that. He said expressly that the more they associated with the English people the more they would like each other, and the better friends they would become. He asked Mr. O'Connell how were they to know each other and be such friends if they had separate legislatures (cheers). He did not mean to say, in support of his views on that subject, that 169 or 176, or any other precise number of representatives was what they were entitled to. That question was easily set at rest; it could readily be ascertained; but clear it was, at least to his mind, that at present their representation was a mere mockery in every point of view (hear, and cheers). He should like to know what was the present number of electors in Ireland? In 1832 they exceeded 95,000; at present, he would venture to assert, that they did not amount to more than 60,000, such had been the system acted on by landlords in not granting leases (hear, hear), as well as in many instances the desire of the poor tenantry themselves to avoid having the franchise, owing to the persecution they endured and were sure to undergo from one party or another if they voted conscientiously and independently (cheers). But, if fairly represented in the Imperial Parliament, ample justice would be done, and that a real union which constituted the strength of both countries would exist. It was Ireland with her 105 members and limited constituency, that for many years kept the Whigs in power, and enabled them to carry such very important measures as the hon. member admitted yesterday. What would be the case if (for argument sake) they had, say 150 members, and that the English members were reduced by the 45 additional given to Ireland? If such had been the case they would not have been cursed with such a poor law, it would not have been inflicted on them, or their interests treated with neglect—they would not have that law administered by a parcel of Englishmen who knew nothing whatever of the country, and at

such a fearful expense (hear, hear, and cheers). If they were properly represented, they would very soon have proper sums granted to educate the people; and in particular render comfortable and educate like gentlemen that most important class, the Roman Catholic clergy, but for whose exertions he (Mr. Symes) believed the country would long since have been in a flame? Was it not disgraceful to England that she grudged to give 50,000*l.* a-year to educate the people, and a paltry sum of 8000*l.* a-year to instruct the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland. It was astonishing how England could be so short-sighted, and how the hon. gentlemen on the opposite benches could approve of her policy in these respects? It was melancholy to witness the hourly effects the agitation of this question was producing. England, with millions of unemployed capital, declined to send a guinea into this country, where it could be employed with so much advantage to all parties. Few had better opportunities of knowing this than he (Mr. Symes). Some few years since, when Repeal at least lay dormant, he had been instrumental in bringing into Ireland upwards of a million of money, at 4 and 4½ per cent.; yet, though not one sixpence of interest was due to any of the parties lending this large sum, there was a disinclination now to lend any more in Ireland, notwithstanding that large sums were three times more easily had than at any other period of his memory.

Alderman O'CONNELL—How long is it since you brought all that money into Ireland?

Mr. SYMES—Four or five years ago.

Alderman O'CONNELL—The Whigs were in power then, the Tories are in now.

Mr. SYMES—Concluded by saying he would not longer detain the assembly. He would fervently pray that England would become wise at the eleventh hour, and would not suffer the question of Repeal to make more progress than it had as yet attained to. He could not help thinking that its great leader would be content with real justice being done to Ireland by the Imperial Parliament—that that justice would be conceded—and if so the question of Repeal would voluntarily, rather than from necessity be abandoned.—Mr. Symes sat down, having been cheered by both sides of the house.

Councillor ATKINSON said it was hardly fair for him, an opponent of the amendment, to follow Mr. Symes, who certainly could not be called a supporter of it, for a more admirable Repeal speech than that delivered by the learned gentleman he had rarely heard. He had admitted all the propositions of Alderman O'Connell with the exception of one, and he refused his consent to that only on the plea that it had not been pointed out to him what particular arrangement they were to have in the future Irish



parliament. Alderman Butt had also insisted much on this point, as had also Alderman Purcell: for his (Councillor Atkinson's) part, the only reply he thought necessary, and the reply he would give was, that the nation which had achieved her liberties would be ever able to guard them, and that he would trust to any delegated number of Irishmen the care of this country, sure that it would receive no detrement at their hands. Aldermen Purcell and Boyce, and Councillor Perry, insisted much on the impropriety and imprudence of introducing the motion into that assembly; he (Councillor A.) was there to assert that it was both proper and prudent so to do, and he thought he could prove it. The duty of corporations was not merely to elect officers and regulate water works—these were their accidents, and not their functions; their great duty was, by forming and directing public opinion, to guard the less opulent against the oppression of the strong and powerful. They all knew that at that moment there was no freedom of public opinion in this city or in Ireland. The well-nigh ruined merchant dare not tell out his opinion or the cause of his distress, for dread of that fearful aristocracy of wealth, which is ever ready to crush and overwhelm the freethinking out-speaking man. The suffering farmer, all whose superhuman labour is not sufficient to keep his rackrented farm out of arrear, dare not speak out, lest the wreck of hope which is left to him be also whirled away. The professional man, be he of the church, the law, or the slightly endowed profession to which he (Councillor A.) belonged, from the days when every recreant got place under Anglesey, passing the day on which the mean threat of Ebrington was uttered down to the present, dare not speak out, lest all prospect of advancement be for ever denied him. All wanted a fostering and well directed public opinion to be brought to bear on the monstrous system of tyranny and oppression which overawed the expression of public sentiment in this country (cries of hear, hear, and cheers). And in no way that he knew was that result so likely to be arrived at as by the present motion. If the elected representatives of the burgesses of Dublin affirmed by a large majority that the union of this kingdom—it had been a kingdom, and would be so, please God, again—with that of Great Britain had been fraught with the most disastrous consequences to Ireland, and agreed on a petition for its repeal, a great and powerful impetus would be given to the cause—the timid and wavering would be brought about—the despots of the money market would hesitate to crush, as they were wont, the assertor of his country's rights—a strong and convincing evidence would be given that a great and pervading public opinion existed on the matter—and few would be found rash enough to oppose it. But he denied that it was a mere abstract political question. He believed it to be a question of existence or non-existence, a

question of tranquillity or revolution, a question which came home to the door of every citizen and of every Irishman. He was not to go over the arguments about the state of the metropolis again : Councillors Kirwan, Fogerty, and M'Kenna had fully done that ; in fact the case of the metropolis was a conceded one. However they might differ as to the nation at large, no one differed as to the metropolis ; and was he to be told that that was a mere political matter which should not be discussed in the corporation, where the whole well-being of the city depended ? On the ground, then, that the corporation should guide and form public opinion, and on the ground that the interest of the city was concerned in this matter, he urged that it was most proper for the corporation to entertain the question (hear, hear). But it was said that the discussion of this matter was highly imprudent. How could the corporation expect any thing from government when petitioning for a Repeal of the Union. Let them keep quiet, and they would get corporate redress, increase of representation, and every thing else.

“ Open their mouth and shut their eyes,  
Heaven would love them, and give them a prize.”

(laughter). He did not expect much from the government whilst petitioning for such a measure, still less though whilst remaining in contemptible quiescence under so many and such grievous wrongs. They had been for fifteen months minding their business, even according to his lordship's acceptance of the term—what had been done for them ? Was there any effort made or any hope held out by the government that they would relieve the citizens by a short bill of the mistakes of the municipal act unconnected with politics ? Not the least ; nor would there until they came forward like men and demanded amply all their rights. Moliere, who knew something of human nature, had a scene in one of his plays which bore strongly on this point ; he believed the illustration to be applicable to individuals as well as nations. Moliere introduces in the “ *Precieuses Ridicules* ” Mascarille coming in a chair. One of the chairmen demands payment ; he tells him to begone for a scoundrel and not dare to insult his dignity. On again being urged he strikes the chairman, who simply asks, is that the way he is to get bread for his family. Meanwhile, the other chairman pulls the pole out of the chair, and offers to strike Mascarille if he do not get his money. Mascarille replies : “ you speak reason ; here it is for you my fine fellow.” “ But I must have more money for the blow, says the porter.” “ To be sure one can do any thing with me when they go about it properly (laughter).” So it was as long as they snivelled and whined for their rights they would be despised. They must speak out and demand them all. Nothing was ever got from England yet

without the Irish having some sort of stick or other in their hands (cheers). At the treaty of Limerick their rights had been preserved, but the boys who had the stick went away, and it is needless to say how little their rights were respected. For 78 years they lay in that torpor of repose which the honourable gentlemen opposite seemed so much to admire. A Swift—a Molyneux—and a Lucas arose (whose works he would recommend to the more careful perusal of the learned alderman), and hindered more mischief from being done to them than otherwise would. They sowed the seed but did not live to see it reaped. Meanwhile 1779 came. America was lost to England—Grattan grasped the stick, and threatened to lay it on well—free trade and independence followed. He passed to the period of 1800, of which he would only say that many of the professors of his own creed, humbugged and bamboozled by the lying ministers of the day, withdrew their opposition, and waited long enough for the emancipation which was promised them; but they might have waited till the present day had not a greater than either Swift or Grattan arose—one who not only sowed the seed but reaped the harvest. He saw the folly of the whining style; and, brandishing that moral power he was the first to create, he obtained for them in 1829 part of their rights. In 1832 he brandished it again, and obtained for England her reform bill, which was, of course, duly rewarded by the Irish coercion act. He hurled the traitors to every principle which they had advocated from power, and finally succeeded in establishing a ministry favourable to Ireland. He ceased from the exertion of his power for a time, but now again was prepared to act and triumph for them. So if history were worth any thing, it pointed out to them that they got nothing by subservience—but every thing by a bold and manly assertion of their rights. For these reasons O'Connell thought it both proper and prudent to bring forward the motion in that corporation, and he (Dr. Atkinson) would give it his hearty support.

Mr. FITZPATRICK next addressed the council. He said he was not going to make a speech. At the same time he could not be content with giving a mere silent vote. He wondered how any man could be opposed to the independence of his native land, when he saw the fatal effects of a legislative Union between England and Ireland, which were every day discernible, not only in the infliction of grievances and calamities, but in the non-extension to this country of rights and privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants of other portions of the British dominions (hear, hear, and cheers). He belonged to a trade the most persecuted of any in the world; and his lordship, who knew something of that trade, was competent to attest that fact (hear, hear). The act of Union was grossly violated in the persons of the Dublin grocers;

for by that act the same rights and privileges were guaranteed to all traders in the three kingdoms : but the compact was infamously violated by the introduction of a bill withholding from the grocers of Dublin a privilege granted to the grocers of England and Scotland—namely, that of selling tea and spirits on the same premises (hear, hear, hear). The influence of that tyrannical enactment was most disastrous upon the fortunes of the grocers of Dublin, and the thought was most exasperating that they should be subjected to a penal law—for such it was—which the government would be afraid to extend to England or to Scotland. For himself, he would never submit to that law. He thought it more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and considered that resistance to it was a duty which he owed to his countrymen generally, and more particularly to his fellow-tradesmen, of whom there were thousands in Ireland. They were suffering a most intolerable grievance ; for they were liable to be visited at any moment by the officers of the government, who would carry off their goods for indulging in a practice to which no penal consequences were attached in the sister country. Would it be pretended for a moment that such a law as that would have been inflicted on the country if there was a parliament in Collegegreen ? (hear, hear, and cheers). He, for one, despaired of seeing any measure of justice extended to this country, unless by the restoration of their domestic legislature. The city was in the most deplorable condition—its commerce had dwindled into nothing—its manufactures had totally disappeared—and nothing now remained but the memory of their past greatness. So faithful and loyal a people did not exist, and it was disgraceful that they should be treated in such a manner. When England was in distress or danger, Ireland was the right arm of her prowess, and supplied her with the best soldiers and sailors to fight her battles, and it was little thanks they got for it. He never could forget the indignity which had been put upon him, as an Irishman, by the Union, and he would never desist from his efforts to restore his country to her freedom (cheers). There was no country which deserved to be better treated than Ireland ; for he never would admit that her sons were not the bravest, and her daughters the most lovely that could be found in all creation (cheers, and cries of hear, hear).

Mr. THOMAS next addressed the assembly. He said—My Lord Mayor, I could not upon the present occasion give a silent vote (hear). In the first place, I must express my extreme regret that the agitation of the Repeal cause was ever brought forward in this assembly (hear). We are sent here to watch over the rights and interests of the citizens of Dublin, and not to bring forward political measures (hear, and applause). I think the last

three days have shown that we might be better employed—our committees have been unattended to. Observe the appearance of this assembly and what has occurred outside these walls to the party opposing Alderman O'Connell (hear). Alderman Butt has been each day of this discussion attacked the moment he left the Assembly-house, for delivering his sentiments in reply to the question brought forward with so much temper and moderation by Alderman O'Connell (hear, and cheers). I concur with Alderman Butt in deprecating the introduction of this measure into the corporation. The gentleman who proposed the question stated we (the Conservative party) ought not to have been the first to find fault with a political measure being introduced into the assembly, and taunted us with bringing forward the question of an address as a party measure (hear). That I utterly deny (hear and cheers). I was the mover of the address to Earl de Grey, which was seconded by Alderman Butt. I stated at the time, and so did the worthy alderman, that we did not bring it forward as a party question (hear), but merely as a mark of respect to his lordship as the representative of her Majesty (hear, and cheers). The next question which he designated as political, and said we introduced it as such, was a vote of thanks to the officers in India and China (hear). Now that was brought forward by Councillor Symes and not by us; therefore, it was not a fact that the Conservatives first introduced political measures into the corporation (hear). Both questions, however, were voted against by the majority, which I very much regret. Alderman O'Connell and other gentlemen alluded to the state of dilapidation into which house property in Dublin had fallen. One member of this council, who seems to have travelled a great deal in the decayed portion of the city—the Liberty and such places—speaks loudly of it, and no one can lament it more than I do (hear). He has referred to Pye-corner, but he has said nothing about Mountjoy or Fitzwilliam-squares, and all the splendid streets which have been erected since the Union (hear). I, however, trust he will change his ways and course of life, and keep out of Pye-corner (cheers and laughter). I waited to the end of the debate in order to put a question to Alderman O'Connell (hear). I wanted to know his object in bringing forward this question or agitation? (hear). I am aware he will have a majority. I could tell him their numbers, because I have calculated them (hear, hear). But I now ask him, will he ever dare to take another step, once the petition is presented at the bar of the house of parliament? (hear, from Alderman O'Connell). Will he dare to enter the arena of the British House of Commons as he did in 1834, and brave the majority of 485 (hear, and loud cheers). There is no one that can admire the talents of Alderman O'Connell more than I do.

I have heard that he stated he had twenty years more work in him yet. I trust he has (hear); and that he will employ that time and the influence he so abundantly possesses, in preaching repose instead of agitating Repeal (hear, and laughter). Believe me, if he does we will have capital flowing into this country, and have it improved in every possible way (hear, hear). As to property, Alderman O'Connell has denounced the Tory landlords as exterminators through their "tyrant agents" (hear). As an agent, I hurl this accusation back upon him with disdain (cheers). Let him turn to the north, where his agitation has not reached, and I tell him that in 1816, properties purchased there at seventeen years' purchase could now be sold at thirty-five years' purchase (hear, hear, and cheers). I can also tell him, there are Tory landlords—Lord Farnham, Mr. Naper, of Loughcrew, Mr. Humphreys, and such men—who have improved the country to a most extraordinary extent (hear). Let him look at the improvement in the condition of the poor where the baneful influence of his agitation has not reached. Their houses are now comfortable and commodious, instead of being wretched hovels, all of which has been effected through the generosity of their landlords, who came forward liberally to allow for those improvements (hear). Mr. Reilly gave us a description of some noblemen on the continent. He spoke of ladies, *prima donnas*, and so forth, when drawing a picture of an absentee landlord (hear). I have never read or heard of such a case; not a single instance of one (hear, and cheers). I am quite aware the assembly are anxious to divide to-day, therefore I will not detain the members of it further. In conclusion I would say, I firmly believe every Repealer in the corporation participates in the feeling, that there cannot happen any greater misfortune to Ireland than the prosperity of Great Britain, and that the Irish have a deep and fatal interest in the weakness and adversity of England (no). I thank the honorable member for that "no;" but such sentiments are in the preface to "O'Connell's Irish History," which is inscribed to her Majesty, and which I hope will never pollute her hands. I will say in the words of Grattan, "May the two countries never be separated; and may Ireland never seek for any other connexion, save Great Britain" (loud cheers).

Alderman O'CONNELL then rose to reply, and, taking up the *Freeman* of Monday, proceeded to read from the report of his speech the following extract:—"You are called upon to give up your independence, and to whom are you called upon to give it up? To a nation which for six hundred years has treated you with uniform oppression and injustice. The Treasury bench startles at the assertion—*non meus hic sermo est*. If the Treasury bench scold me, Mr. Pitt will scold *them*—it is the assertion in so many

words in his speech. Ireland, says he, has always been treated with injustice and illiberality. Ireland, says Junius, has been uniformly plundered and oppressed. This is not the slander of Junius, nor the candour of Pitt—it is history. *For centuries has the British Parliament and nation kept you down—shackled your commerce, and paralysed your exertions; despised your characters, and ridiculed your pretensions to any privileges, commercial or constitutional.* SHE HAS NEVER CONCEDED A POINT TO YOU WHICH SHE COULD AVOID, OR GRANTED A FAVOUR WHICH WAS NOT RELUCTANTLY DISTILLED. THEY HAVE BEEN ALL WRUNG FROM HER LIKE DROPS OF HER BLOOD; and you are not in possession of a single blessing (except those which you derive from God) that has not been either purchased or extorted by the virtue of your own Parliament from the illiberality of England.” I hope the Queen will read that. I trust the Queen will read that. Whose language is it? It is the language of Charles Kendal Bushe, Lord Chief Justice of the Queen’s Bench. Compare that with the weak and unemphatic language in which I conveyed my sentiments. I had the inclination but not the powers of intellect to express the idea as energetically as Charles Bushe. But this sentiment did not reign in the mind of Bushe alone, for it was re-echoed by Dr. Lucas, who in the House of Commons used these remarkable words, which I did not myself hear, but which I read in the reports of the public journals—“Whenever a favour is done by England to Ireland, it is thrown to us as you would throw a bone to a dog.”

Now let me just say one word more as between the gentleman who has sat down and myself. Mr. Thomas alleges that I accused the gentlemen upon his side of the house of having been the first to introduce into this assembly a party motion, in the case of an address to Lord de Grey. I do not think that I used the word “party.” I may have used it, but my impression is that I did not, and that my phrase was “political.” [A voice—Yes, it was]. Undoubtedly, what I meant to convey was, that the gentlemen on the other side were the first to introduce a political question. And I am sure that no one will venture to assert that the address to Lord de Grey could possibly bear any other than a political complexion. On the subject of landlords and agents, Mr. Thomas availed himself of a phraseology which I think might as well have been dispensed with; but with the simple drawback of that single phrase I feel pride and pleasure in congratulating the country upon the spirit in which this debate has been conducted. It is a debate eminently important in its object—highly useful to the dearest interests of the country, and it has been carried on in the genuine spirit of fair play, and manliness of purpose, on the part of the gentlemen on the Conserva-

tive side of the house (hear). This admission I am bound in justice to make. The debate has been conducted on their side with temper and talent, and indeed I cannot help saying that the conduct of the Conservative members furnishes the strongest possible refutation to the opinion to which Mr. Butt gave expression when bringing forward his amendment—namely, that great mischief must result from the introduction of such a question as the present, for that it would destroy all cordiality of sentiment in that Council, and that its discussion would excite bad passions, and enkindle angry feelings amongst the members. Now, I put it to the Assembly to say, has not this prediction been signally falsified in the present instance? (hear). Not a particle of ill feeling has been displayed on the part of the learned Alderman and his friends, and certainly I am also justified in declaring that upon our side of the house not one sentence has escaped during the progress of the debate from the lips of any gentleman, calculated in the slightest degree to wound the feelings of those who hold different opinions.

We have much at stake in this question—the welfare and happiness of our common country: and, however deeply I lament the defalcation of those gentlemen who will not support my motion, I feel confidently persuaded that they differ from me through an honesty of purpose as pure and conscientious as that which compels me to differ from them (hear, hear, and cheers). I feel that I have already trespassed so long upon your time it is my bounden duty to be as succinct as I possibly can in the remarks which I am about to offer. There were, if I mistake not, seven gentlemen who spoke against my motion—not seven, six and a half—Mr. Butt, Mr. Guinness, Mr. Purcell, Mr. Boyce, Mr. Symes, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Perry, whom I only regard as half an opponent, for he made a very excellent speech for the repeal, and yet he is to give his vote against it (laughter). But really I feel deeply indebted to him, for as I know I will have no lack of adherents, I had rather have his speech than his vote: and in giving us the former, even though he withholds the latter, he has done the cause a good service. But before I proceed to comment minutely upon any of the speeches, I will say with all due respect for the talents of Alderman Butt—and no man can hold his powers of intellect in higher estimation than I—that from the learned Alderman to the gentleman who made the last speech against my motion, no gentleman, of all those who oppose me, has attempted to weaken, much less to overthrow, any one of the nine propositions which, I maintain, I fully established in my opening speech (loud cries of “hear, hear.”) Nothing has been said to impugn those propositions, with the exception perhaps of the desultory remarks made by Mr. Symes, who admits eight of



them to be proven, and only takes exception at the ninth. Mr. Butt, certainly, in an argument specious and ingenious as a special demurrer, laboured to prove the competency of the Irish Parliament to enact the Union; but with these two trivial exceptions, no attempt has been made to drive me from my original ground. I still hold unshaken the position which I assumed at the commencement of this debate. I made out a case for Ireland perfect in all its component parts, irresistible in its inference, and that case is to this hour uncontradicted and unimpugned. I demonstrated as clearly as the light, the right of my country to enjoy an independent legislature, and in confirmation of that right I pointed to a solemn international treaty. I proved, incontestibly proved, that the Irish representatives had no right to transfer or annihilate the legislative independence of the country; and although I cited in support of that assertion the recorded opinions of some of the most eminent men that the world ever saw, the learned gentleman who leads the Opposition has not quoted against me the dictum of any one author holding opinions different from mine. I showed the beneficial effects which resulted to Ireland from her legislative independence [while such existed] by evidence not to be contradicted nor suspected. I proved the practicability of obtaining Repeal by constitutional means, and without loss to life and property; and, in a word, there is not one of my original propositions which I have not most triumphantly established. Mr. Symes opposed me by denying that beneficial results will accrue to the country from the restoration of her Parliament. I will reserve the destruction of this fallacy for the conclusion of my speech, and will now take up, in succession, the points most worthy of notice in the speeches of the seven gentlemen who opposed me. Mr. Symes says that he is going to England this evening, and I am much mistaken if I cannot extract even from this circumstance an argument for Repeal (laughter). He has a happy home—I know he has, for no man ever wore so good humoured a face and so sunny a smile who did not enjoy a happy home; but he must forsake that home. He is going to England on the professional business, most probably, and he is going, I have little doubt, at the expense of a client—for I have known him to visit London for the purpose of managing the progress of private bills through the house; but is it not a cruel thing that he must be debarred the society of his family, and must cross the Channel for the purpose of transacting the business of an Irish client in passing a private bill through the house, a duty which, if Ireland had a native Parliament, he might perform with equal advantage to his client, and infinitely more ease and comfort to himself? Let them reflect what a vast amount of expense and annoyance was entailed upon

the country by this system of alien legislation. How many thousand pounds were expended on the introduction of a bill for the Dublin and Kingstown Railway? How easily and how expeditiously might that bill have been procured if there were a Parliament in College-green? But an argument yet more cogent was furnished in the case of the Drogheda Railway bill. No less a sum than 30,000*l.* were expended in carrying this bill through the English House of Commons! If we had a Parliament of our own that bill might have been carried through for two or three thousand pounds, to take the very highest calculation. Nay, I do most firmly believe that it might be done for a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds, and yet it cost thirty thousand pounds! (hear), every shilling of which were expended in England. So much for the present system of legislation! Counsellor Symes tells me that he borrowed a million of money for Ireland, but the interest of that sum, 45,000*l.* is, I find, going out of Ireland annually—more than I knew of. I do not know how much of the million was spent in England; but one thing is certain, that the interest of the debt is now added to the other drains from the country. He says that it is four years ago since he obtained that loan, and he complains that he is unable to borrow a shilling for Ireland in England at present. But may not that be accounted for by the fact that the Whigs were in power then, and that the Tories are in power now, when he can get nothing for Ireland? He tells us also—and it has been put forward more than once during this debate—that I had boasted of the importance of the Irish representatives, because we actually turned the scale in the Imperial Parliament, and carried measures favourable to Scotland and England. We did so, but we had the claim of gratitude owing to Ireland by the English members, whom we had supported, and yet we were still unable to carry a single measure for Ireland. We could and did assist Scotland. We could and did assist England. But we could do nothing for Ireland (hear). I thank the learned Alderman Butt for having drawn that forth. I appeal to you whether that is not the strongest point of view in which I could possibly place the incompetence and the unwillingness of the British Parliament to do anything like justice for Ireland. We carried their measures—we turned the scales against Whiggism and Toryism, but both weights were thrown into the scale against us, and the cause of Ireland kicked the beam. I cannot turn a page of their proceedings that I do not find additional instances of similar treatment on their part against Ireland.

I may dismiss the speech of my friend Alderman Boyce with a very few observations. It was what is called an innocent speech (laughter). He did not purport to argue the question, or in fact he rather disclaimed arguing it. In doing so he but showed another instance of that common sense which has placed him, and I

am glad of it, amongst the foremost class of his fellow-citizens. He would scorn sophistication, but he gave us one or two reasons that I think ought to convince him of the necessity for Repeal. He talked of railways. In fact he admitted the distress that exists in the country. He admitted the state to which Ireland was reduced, and in terms complimentary to me—and I always feel proud to be complimented by him; he called on me to exert myself to do something for Ireland to relieve that distress. Why does he not call on the Imperial Parliament, if he has confidence in it, to do so? He admits that I have the willingness, though I have not the power, to do good for Ireland; but why does he not call on Parliament, that is able, though it is unwilling, to do what he feels to be necessary? He talked of the waste lands. Does he not know that there were not less than four parliamentary reports obtained by Irish members on the improvement of the waste lands of Ireland, and that these are all now lying as dead letters? I think I have now dispatched two of my antagonists (laughter and cheers). Mr. Symes admitted the entire of my case with one exception only, and Alderman Boyce comes and corroborates my case. Oh! but he talked of introducing railways into the country; I thank him for that. The English Parliament was willing to give away money in handfulls to the Scotch. It gave its credit to borrow money for Canada. It would give money anywhere but for Ireland. The railway plan was settled for the entire of Ireland. The Irish members were unanimous in its favour. There were at first a threatened opposition from Mr. Sergeant Jackson, who spoke against it, but afterwards he very properly yielded to the wishes of his constituents, and, in obedience to them, he saw the question in another light, and we were all thus unanimous in its favour. We did not want to borrow money from England. We only demanded that the Parliament would give us its security to assist in obtaining loans, and, in return, we offered to pledge all the counties in Ireland for its repayment. There were to be three great branches—one from Dublin to Londonderry—another from Dublin to Galway—and a third from Dublin to Cork, or Bantry Bay. We were badly supported, or rather opposed, by the Whigs. We were opposed by the Tories, and were opposed by the English Radicals in the House. Whig, Tory, and Radical in England, were all alike opposed to do us the justice we required (hear). They were all the same when the cause of Ireland was concerned, and I heard one of the leading Radicals say to another—"D—n these fellows, they shall not get our money!" I turned on him as a peaceable but indignant man should do. But such was the language used by a leading English Radical—an out-and-outer, and not a Whig, Tory, or placeman—towards Ireland and Irishmen. If I had my friend, Alderman Boyce, in an Irish Parliament, and I hope I will live to see him there yet (cheers and

laughter), I would soon settle the question of Irish railways with him.

I now come to a few words with Mr. Guinness. He, too, fully admitted the evils consequent on the Union, for he told us that he preferred

“ To bear the evils we have,  
Than fly to others that we know not of.”

And if there were no evils, he could not prefer them to others that he did not know. Now, I would certainly be for, at least, taking a chance for an affectual remedy; especially as one is a certain evil, and the other only an evil in prophecy. Altering our condition at all would be an improvement, as even moving in the bed relieves a fever patient. Mr. Guinness referred me to an expression of mine which I am certainly very sorry for using. I spoke of tyrant agents, and I certainly could not be understood by that as meaning to establish an universal proposition—by no means. I did not know at that time, or indeed until he mentioned it in his speech, that Mr. Guinness is an agent, as is Mr. Thomas; and I certainly would not have used the term without qualifying it by words, if I recollected that one of those gentlemen, or if I knew that the other was of that class. I would be very wrong, indeed, if I used any discourtesy towards Mr. Guinness, and so would every one who knows him; but I would be still more wrong, for I would be guilty of an untruth, if I mixed him up with the agents of whom I complained. That is not his character at all (hear hear). I utterly disclaim intending to cast any imputation upon him, and there is no man would repudiate it more strongly than I would if I heard another attempt to do so.

There was one point for which he assailed me, and that was not for my speech, but for my book. He complained that I assailed a man who is dead, Mr. Hume, as having been an infidel and a liar. I did call him an arch liar and an infidel, because I proved him to be both. He was incontestably a liar, and he was boastingly an infidel (hear). Mr. Guinness compassionates with me those who have the misfortune of imagining it to be a proof of strength of mind to reject the overwhelming truths of Revelation; but that is no reason why we should not treat them with moderation and leniency—we pity the miserable man but we abhor his crime. Hume boasted of being an infidel, and he died one; and he has left after him essays that have become the school-books of infidelity, and have been corrupting the minds of youth in the present day; and they will, as long as they are known, be regarded as the horn-book of foolish infidelity. Advocating the character of such a man, simply because he is dead, reminds me of the rhyme of Watty Cox in one of his writings—

“ De mortuis nil nisi bonum :  
When scoundrels die let all bemoan 'em.”

(laughter). Two other topics were touched on by Mr. Guinness,

both of which gave me pain. He spoke of its being unkind to your lordship that we should have brought forward this motion. I brought it forward without the slightest personal motive, and solely in the discharge of what I believed to be a conscientious duty towards nine millions of my fellow-subjects. I brought it forward as a national question, and if there was anything in my manner unkind or uncourteous towards any individual, no one would be more ready than I am to apologise, and atone to the fullest extent for it. As to unkindness towards your lordship, I never thought of such a thing; but if the brother, whom I have loved for upwards of sixty years, and between whom and me there has never, from my earliest boyhood, been a single contradiction, or a single expression of unkindness—if that brother sat in the chair your lordship now occupies, and was against Repeal, I would bring forward the motion as readily, and with as little intention of unkindness as I have done (hear hear). I totally repudiate the idea of having meant any unkindness in what I have done; but while I am not unkind to an individual, I cannot afford to be unkind to the entire community (hear hear). I also regret that Mr. Guinness should have thrown out censure against a reverend and dignified friend of mine, the Right Rev. Dr. Feeny. He was certainly guilty of no harshness in his censure, but I think it would have been better to have avoided it, at least as he confessedly had not read the speech of that venerated prelate, who showed his reasons, in it, for coming forward. He stated he was driven to act as he had done from the poverty and distress that surrounded him, and from his knowledge that that distress was gradually and daily increasing and augmenting. He saw no hope of remedy, and no prospect except increasing absenteeism and misery; and, as a Christian prelate, desirous to relieve that distress, to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry, to banish sickness, and open the prison-house, by giving the means of employment to the poor by the return to Ireland of the Irish gentry, and obliging them to spend their rents in Ireland, he felt bound to come forward for the Repeal (hear hear). These were his reasons for coming forward to support and countenance the Repeal agitation: and it was symptomatic of the times to see an Irish prelate presiding at such a meeting (hear hear); especially a prelate of such talent, learning, and genuine piety. He knows little of human nature who does not know how the gale blows, when not a feather, but a flag of that kind is held up to show its bearing and its strength (hear hear and cheers). So much for my friend, as I am proud to call him, Mr. Guinness.

Next I come to a word or two with Mr. Perry (hear hear and laughter). I already said that I am not to answer him; I cannot get his vote, and I believe I could guess why—because he thinks I ought not to get it (hear hear and laughter), or something of

that sort (renewed laughter). But he most distinctly admitted what every man of common sense must feel and know—namely, the extreme value of a domestic legislature. What man in trade will leave his counting-house [I am sure my friend Alderman Boyce does not] and call on one of his clerks, saying, “come and do the business of the day for me, while I go and amuse myself to the right or to the left?” Mr. Perry knows the immense value of a domestic legislature, and he admitted it. He went further—he wished for its restoration, though he was afraid of the means. He would be glad to see the Irish Parliament restored, but he said we could not get it back, and he said why?—because we were not unanimous. If every man in Ireland, who wishes for the Repeal, would only join me in looking for it, we would soon be unanimous; and I want to know what business any man has to speak of a thing being difficult, if, when he thinks it good, he will not give his aid towards its accomplishment? (hear, hear.) I put it to his conscience, why he will not aid in procuring it when he admits it to be a good thing to be wished for? Surely it is criminal to know that a national measure is most valuable, and to wish ardently for that good, yet to refuse to assist in obtaining it. How can any man reconcile it to his conscience to abstain from assisting to promote that which he knows and avows would benefit his country? What I want is, that sober, rational, intelligent men, like him, should assist me. Let him throw the fixity of his character, his habits of unexaggeration, and his absence from all the enthusiasm of wild agitation of any kind into the struggle, and if many men of that kind join me we will soon have the parliament in College-green again (hear, hear, and cheers.) He disputed the assertion of the O’Conor Don, that five English merchants have more influence with the present government than all the Irish members together. I do not know whether my assertion will be any additional proof in his estimation; but I can fully confirm the truth of O’Conor Don’s opinion; and I confirm, to this extent, that it was equally true when the Whigs were in office as it is now, that we have the Tories inflicted upon us. The Whigs, perhaps, owed me some return of kindness for having supported them; yet, I solemnly aver, that I never could get any relaxation of the most rigid rule of harshness for any Irish merchant during the administration of the Whigs. I tell you this, that I went over and over again to them for practical favours—that is, things which I was not absolutely entitled to as a right—on occasions when Irish merchants were treated with severity, and I was never able to succeed. For instance, a large quantity of spirits was spilled, purely by accident, in a distillery in Kilkenny; the distiller had a large number of Irish members in his favour, and we went repeatedly to the government, praying that he should not be charged with duty for what he had altogether lost; and yet, though he was a man of the best character, we failed in getting that simple act of justice for him. If an English

merchant, with five English members to support him, applied to the government for a similar favour, it would at once be acceded to him [hear, hear]. I could mention forty or fifty similar instances. In fact I never knew the English Whig government to grant any Irish merchant a kindness, while I never knew an instance in which they refused a kindness to an English merchant who had any parliamentary support [hear, hear]. Councillor Perry has, indeed, given us one consolation. He has admitted the mischief, he has admitted the evils that exist, and he has admitted the value of a domestic parliament. He has admitted all this, but he has a cure in his pocket for all. But what is it? Quiescence! [hear, hear]. He wants us to lie down and be quiet [great laughter]. Does he know what I heard William Saurin say from this spot? "I am," said he, "accused of agitation. I am accused of agitating the country against the Union. I admit the accusation. Agitation is the price necessarily paid for liberty" [hear, hear]. I thanked him at the time for the lesson, and it sunk deep in my mind. I have been forestalled in the quotation that I intended to repeat, but Cobbett puts it exceedingly well. He says children are very foolish who refuse to take the advice of lying down on their backs when their grandames say to them,

Open your mouth, and shut your eyes,  
And try whether God will not send you a prize.

And because, says he, the granny contrives when they do, so to put a sugarplumb into their mouths—men are required to do the same. But the fellow who is foolish enough to lie down in that way, instead of having anything put into his mouth, gets off very well if he escapes with a kick (laughter).

I now come to the next gentleman who spoke on the opposite side, and in speaking of him I feel myself in a painful position. I allude to Alderman Purcell. I have, of course, a thorough determination to speak of him with the courtesy which he deserves, and nothing would be more repugnant to every feeling of mine, and indeed nothing could be more indelicate on my part than to use, in my remarks, one tittle that could offend him in the slightest degree. But I have a duty to perform, and he has brought forward topics which I must meet [hear, hear, and loud cheers.] I thought for a time I could avoid doing so, but I find that I cannot. I will confine myself strictly to the topics to which he referred, and I will use no personal remarks except what are complimentary. Alderman Purcell complained, and I thought with some bitterness, or, at least, with sorrow, that we had exacted latterly a Repeal pledge from candidates, and that point has been dwelt on by more than one speaker on the opposite side, and amongst others by Mr. Symes, who declares himself to be a Whig, out and out. But I appeal to those gentlemen—who began to insist upon a test? Was it the Repealers who commenced putting the Repeal test, or did a test of a

contrary nature not come from the Whig government? The Hon. Alderman gave his support to that government also; he has, indeed in this debate, praised the present government [ironical cheers]; but to the late government he gave a decided and a valuable support; and yet it was that government began the Repeal test. It was that government that had the injustice and the immorality to attempt to bribe the youth of Ireland, by telling them that any man who dared to think that Ireland ought to have a parliament of her own was civilly excommunicated [loud cries of 'hear' from the Tory benches]. Would you endure a man, who, in the most violent war, would have the treachery to put poison into the spring of water from which his enemy was to drink? and will you then tolerate the man who attempts to poison the youthful mind, degrade the spirit of love of country, and hold out a bribe in prospect, which is infinitely more liable to be magnified by the imagination than any kind of immediate bribe? There never was an act more thoroughly despicable than that of Lord Ebrington's [cries of hear, hear, from both sides]. It was then, I think, hardly fair of Alderman Purcell, who supported that government, to boast that the lawyers and attorneys had forsaken us. Some of the attorneys and a number of the lawyers deserted us, I admit—more shame for them; but I can give a clue to their motives in doing so, and I think the boast of their not joining us should be spared. But we are come to a time when every man ought quietly and openly direct his mind to the subject of Repeal, either to approximate more closely to it or to depart more widely from it. But what I complain of is, Alderman Purcell's condemnation of the Repeal test, whilst he lent all the assistance in his power to the Whig ministry that vainly introduced the anti-Repeal test. Alderman Purcell also said something, rather boastfully, about his own skill in framing societies in which no division prevails. He spoke of the unanimous societies which he has been the means of forming, and he instanced the Agricultural Society, of which he is the founder, and in which he said that he congregated together all classes. I submit to his sneer about our one nobleman, while he has a duke, and marquises, and earls, and barons, and baronets, around him in his society. I admit that freely; but there is one class that he has not, and that is necessarily excluded from his society, and that is not a small class—it is the class of the poor. He has boasted that there were no divisions in his society; but I wonder how they could have any differences as they excluded everything on which division could take place? The first principal rule of their society is, that they are not to introduce any religious topic; and the second rule that they adopted was, that no political topic was to be introduced. And having got a society that was to have nothing to do with either religion or politics, I wonder what they were to differ on, unless it was whether they



were to have short-nosed swine or long-nosed swine, and about the weight, "sinking offal," of oxen? [loud laughter]. But above all, they are great at draining. How it would be possible for them to quarrel, where they are all equally impressed with the propriety of draining, I cannot conceive! Lord Townsend once asked Sir Hercules Langrishe how it was possible none of his predecessors had ever thought of draining the Phoenix Park? "Because," said he, "they were too busy draining the rest of Ireland" [great laughter]. I may be wrong, but I actually read in a Cork newspaper a speech attributed to Alderman Purcell, in which he defended the non-patronage of Irish manufacture, because it was a political subject.

Alderman PURCELL said the reporter must have been mistaken, because he never thought of saying such a thing in his life.

Alderman O'CONNELL—I am exceedingly obliged to the Hon. Alderman for setting me right, but it was certainly said by somebody at one of his Agricultural Societies.

I, however, come to his remedy for all the evils of Ireland—it is one easily to be understood and practised—it is to do nothing (laughter). He tells us that if we are quiet we may expect great things. The sugar-plum is, indeed, meeting our eye, and we ought to wait for it (hear, and laughter). He says we will get an augmentation of the Irish members if we keep ourselves quiet! He admitted there were too few electors, and yet we were to get an augmentation in the number, if we keep ourselves quiet! The Corporate Reform Bill he acknowledged to be too limited and stringent; but we are, said he, to get an excellent one if we keep ourselves quiet. Oh! pray do keep yourselves quiet (a laugh)—especially if we all be unanimous. Let not a murmur escape your lips against your haughty task-masters! By the process of quiet, alone, we are to have all these advantages! Now I ask the worthy Alderman if his much talked of unanimity will be likely to coax any of the gentlemen with whom he will vote this day to join him in a petition for an increase in the number of Irish representatives—for increasing the franchise, or the powers of the municipal corporations? Oh! he will coax the birds off the bushes first (loud cheers and laughter). But he should recollect that we tried this remedy already. I formed the Precursor Society especially for that purpose, and on that footing; and one of my most excellent coadjutors was the Alderman himself (cheers). I will do him that justice. It was formed on the principle of obtaining justice for Ireland, or Repeal; but he came, and in a private interview did me the honour to say, that if I struck out the words "or Repeal," which went to pledge its members to Repeal purposes, I would get an infinitely greater number to join me in seeking for justice to Ireland. He came forward with a bountiful and splendid subscription, as he always does; he paid down his fifty pounds to the Association; but did we succeed? [hear, hear.] did we obtain justice for Ireland,

or even the redress of any one grievance? Certainly not. In fact what was the result? Stanley brought in a bill to annihilate the Irish franchise, and although the Whigs were in office, and had a majority on other questions, yet, because it was a case where the liberties of Ireland were to be trampled under, he succeeded in his motion by a majority of the House of Commons. It was only by my own battling it, week after week, by putting motions of adjournment and dividing upon them—it was, in fine, by my own physical exertions and indomitable perseverance that I defeated the measure [cheers]. How can Alderman Purcell tell me that if we lie quiet we will get all the important measures which he admits that Ireland wants. I will put a question to the worthy Alderman with the greatest respect—had the English Catholics, among whom were high and noble families, dukes with ancient names, the Duke of Norfolk, with the best blood “of all the Howards,” the Earl of Shrewsbury, the descendant of the Talbot of a hundred fights, the first names in history, the most familiar to the readers of Shakspeare’s historic plays—had they, I say, obtained anything by remaining passive? They were as quiet as he could desire them to be, or as if Mr. Perry sang a lullaby to the worthy Alderman’s ardent wish! [laughter.] What did they get. They got exceedingly civil words; they were told that a great difference existed between themselves and the wicked, vicious agitators of Ireland, who were draining away the capital and destroying the manufacturing prosperity of the country. They were told that Englishmen were prevented from coming to Ireland—and let me add, by way of parenthesis, that the Scotchmen come flip-pantly enough, and do not go away as poor as they came. But I repeat the question; what did the English Catholics obtain by their acquiescence? Nothing—emphatically nothing. And we shall get what Paddy calls “more of that same,” if we take Mr. Purcell’s advice, and lie down in quiet [laughter]. Why the Duke of Norfolk complained to me, when speaking of the splendid palace in which he resided—the palace in which George the Third was born—that, with all his rank and fortune, he could not be a common justice for his native county. I told him I would get twenty justices in Ireland who would exchange with him for his house, and give him the commission of the peace to boot (laughter). I did more. I continued the agitation—I misconducted myself as an agitator, because I knew it was the price of liberty, and while they who acquiesced—who were “quiet”—were despised and trampled on, the agitators were not only not afraid, but were caressed and successful (cheers). I thought I was mistaken, when it occurred to me I had the assistance of Alderman Purcell on more than one occasion, as a Repealer, and in more than one association, and I therefore utterly refused to make any statement on the subject without having the documents by me. I find he was a member of the National Trades’ Political Union, the objects of which were:

" 1st—To support the *King* and his *ministers*, against a *faction*, in accomplishing the great measure of parliamentary reform.

" 2nd—To seek, by every legal and constitutional means, a full and complete REPEAL of the calamitous and degrading enactment, commonly termed the LEGISLATIVE UNION between Great Britain and Ireland; as also any other real or substantial grievance that may affect the public generally" (great cheering).

I should not, I repeat, have attempted to assert these things, had I not the documents by me, and I find in a second that "at a meeting of the Trades' Political Union, held in the Corn Exchange, June, 1838, it was proposed by William Francis O'Connor, that Mr. Peter Purcell should be admitted a member, having paid his subscription of one pound ten shillings" (cheers). I think too, my lord, that if I am not grievously mistaken in my recollection, I had the honour of seeing that highly respectable gentleman in the chair not only in the Precursor Society, but at a meeting of downright Repealers, although he now reads us a lecture on quiet and acquiescence!

Alderman PURCELL—I never presided at a meeting of the Trades' Political Union.

Alderman O'CONNELL—Then I am mistaken in that respect; but there can be no mistake in asserting that he paid in one pound ten shillings to become a member of that Repeal Society; he was certainly a Repealer, of that there is no doubt (hear hear). My brother Precursor was a member of the Trades' Union, which sought for a repeal of the Legislative Union, although, strange inconsistency, he now votes against it. He suggests that we should not trade in political agitation, but content ourselves in all the blessedness of sleep and torpor, going to bed in order that we may rise in full vigour. It was said that an alderman in London was exceedingly apprehensive in going to bed at night in full health lest he might awake in the morning with his throat cut by Papists (laughter). But why should we acquiesce, my countrymen? Why should we remain passive, when our liberties are trampled on? Why should we remain torpid, when the legislative independence of our country is within our grasp? (cheers). It is true the worthy Alderman did not take part in the agitation of the Catholic question; he did not assist us to obtain emancipation—not in the least—he then took his own advice and was quiet—but it was not he who was quiet, but we who were up and stirring who carried the emancipation—he had an undoubted right if he pleased to be torpid, but he reaped the advantages of that agitation without disturbing himself (hear). It was not by him who slept the measure was acquired, but by those who agitated it, and I introduce that subject because it accounts for his ignorance of the manner in which emancipation was achieved (cheers). We are told by the worthy Alderman how

little progress the question has made; the money of last year was read, the number of Repealers calculated, and the sum of 5,000*l.* said to be Repeal Rent, was commented on as a matter of triumph. A matter of triumph, indeed! Why, if Alderman Purcell had been joined with me in looking for emancipation he would have known that for many many years after we began to agitate for that measure our numbers were insignificant to the last degree (hear). Some one put a newspaper into his hand which contained the debate on the question of the Union, in 1810, and my speech and that of Mr. Hutton's; but I find in the same paper this most material fact—a meeting was advertised by Mr. Edward Hay as Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland, for an entire week, calling on the Catholics to meet on a certain day. When we came together our numbers were—five lawyers, four of whom were briefless, one physician without employment, and a commercial gentleman—making seven in all (hear). Why, if Alderman Purcell could say that our meeting of Repealers was composed of five lawyers, a doctor, and a mercantile clerk, you would laugh at me.—Yet, remember—remember I succeeded (cheers). Our enemies did not take the trouble of telling me then that the Catholic clergy were not with me, for they were not; and I'll tell you why. The clergy at that time had a suspicion of public men, founded on the fact that the class of persons called liberals, who had then gone by, disliked religion more than they loved liberty—in short, the clergy knew that infidelity mixed with active politics, and that the by-gone patriots were “unworthy members of no church.” They were afraid of joining us, and they did not do so in the first instance. The Catholic gentry staid away, and we had not even one lord. Yet I persevered, and you all know the result. I do not think I am detaining you too long in dwelling on this most important and interesting part of national history. When I proposed the scheme of the Catholic Rent it was necessary, by the rules of the Association, to have ten members present to transact business, and if that attendance were not procured before half-past three o'clock, the meeting should adjourn. That regulation bespoke a foregone conclusion—it proved the extreme paucity of our numbers when it was necessary to adopt it for the purpose of enforcing an attendance. I gave notice of my motion, and on the Saturday on which it was to be discussed we had only five members present (hear hear). On the ensuing Saturday, at half-past three o'clock, I had but six, although I canvassed personally, and that fifty promised to attend, yet six only made their appearance. At the end of the third week I had eight—the clock was just half-past three, but on going down stairs I met two young clergymen from Maynooth in the shop, and as all clergymen were members by virtue of their office, I forced them up stairs, much against their inclination; and having thus pro-

cured the attendance of ten members, my plan was developed and my motion carried. I had not then popular support—the people were torpid—I had not the clergy—I had not the peerage, and few of the wealthier classes—I had no money from England, no sympathy from America, yet before six months no room was large enough to contain the members of the Catholic Association. And when I am told that I have had not the nobility, I ask had I their assistance at the beginning of my agitation for Emancipation? No, and when they came it was more to grace our efforts, than to aid us. Let not Alderman Purcell flatter himself that I have not the cordial co-operation of many among the gentry with me. Did not 44 of the Irish representatives vote for Repeal when I brought forward the question in the House of Commons in 1834, and point out to me any of those gentlemen who has since retracted their recorded votes? Oh, yes, there's one—a gentleman in this city, a titled gentleman, but he had no title when he voted for Repeal, and felt not the delusion under which he laboured until that title was about to be given him.

Alderman ROONEY—Yes; and he has got 600*l.* a year.

Alderman O'CONNELL—But Alderman Purcell is greatly mistaken in his estimate of the multitudes which are crowding round us, and I promise him that no cattle-show ever had a better attendance of peers than will, in proper time, grace the Repeal Association (cheers). Let him therefore boast of his pig-fatteners as superior to the people of Ireland and their sainted clergy no longer.

My lord, the good taste and temper displayed during this discussion—the talent evinced by my adversaries, which I can admire, but not imitate—make me proud of being an Irishman. I hope I shall live to see when that talent will be enlisted in the cause of Ireland, and this discussion, I am led to believe, and fondly hope, will bring about the most glorious and most important results, and ultimately lead to the independence and prosperity of my native land. It was said that Repeal had not progressed, and why? Because I myself had been the cause of throwing a damper on the agitation of the measure. When the question was decided against us in 1834, and that the English Parliament refused to enter into a consideration of the question, the House of Commons resolved, that although they would not repeal the Union, they would proceed to remove all the existing grievances of the Irish people. The House of Lords gave a similar pledge after a conference with the Commons, and afterwards both houses presented an united address of both branches of the legislature to the throne embodying that resolution—mark—a resolution to remove all Irish grievances. To that address the King replied and gave the sanction of his royal pledge to carry out that resolution. See what a solemn act that was. It was legislation without the form

of a law ; it had the combined unanimity of Lords and Commons, and was afterwards sanctioned by the Crown ; it held out a direct promise that relief should be afforded and wrongs redressed, and I thought I should be exceedingly mistaken if I gave them an opportunity of saying that it was I who prevented them from granting to Ireland full redress. It would be said that I ought to have acquiesced ; that I ought not to have agitated Repeal in the face of this solemn pledge. If O'Connell, it would be said, had allowed the promised time to elapse, and not shown his turbulent disposition by continuing the agitation of the question, they would have done everything to remedy the evils which afflicted Ireland. If I have been reproached for giving up the question for a time my conscience acquitted me of having acted imprudently. I feel that I acted to the best of my judgment, and those who were opposed to the measure ought not to taunt me for doing so (hear and cheers). But its course of Repeal was now rolling onward in its glorious career ; it was like the snowball which gathereth size in its progress, and, though not so destructive as an avalanche, yet its dissolution will tend to fertilize and beautify the plains of our lovely land (hear and cheers).

But there was another document called the Leinster Declaration, got up by an exceedingly active friend of mine, an eminent solicitor, and drawn up similarly to that to which I have already directed your attention as emanating from the Imperial Parliament. One paragraph states :—"At the same time that we express these our sentiments, namely, sentiments hostile to Repeal, we deem it a duty to declare our conviction that it is essentially necessary to the well-being and tranquillity of Ireland that the attention of the Imperial Parliament should be immediately called to her condition, and its desire for her welfare be practically manifested by the speedy adoption of measures calculated to ensure her general and permanent improvement." That was signed by one duke—for there was no more—it was signed by multitudes of peers, English and Scotch, having claims by property on Ireland—it was signed by hundreds and thousands of the gentry, giving the implied pledge that they resisted the Repeal because they believed the English Parliament would give relief to the country, and willingly agree to the enactment of practical measures to better her condition, but that they would favour Repeal if their expectations were disappointed. With all these promises—with all these solemn declarations—not one boon has been granted from that day to this ! The vote of both houses of Parliament, the sanction of the King, were not only a dead letter, but insulting to the country by the flippancy with which Ireland was treated in the haughty forgetfulness of her wrongs on the part of the Imperial Parliament—in the stinted electoral franchise—in the limited corporate reform—in the absurd and

oppressive poor law—in the grinding stamp taxes. Leinster Declarationists, where are you now? Am I to continue to give you credit for the sincerity of your intentions? No; nor shall I express my feelings of condemnation by any species of vituperation, for I have something else to do, although you gave that pledge—although you know the Imperial Parliament violated its promise, and that you still keep back from me in my struggle for the happiness of Ireland, and the restoration of her domestic Parliament (cheers).

I now, my lord, come back, with great pleasure, to the speech of Alderman Butt. During the course of that very ingenious speech, in which a man of great talent made the most of the worst cause of which he could by any possibility be the advocate, he insinuated, rather than asserted, the existence of the post Union prosperity. I would remind the learned Alderman that *post hoc* is not *propter hoc*, and there might be great prosperity after the Union, although it could not be attributed to the Union. The population of Ireland has doubled since the Union. She has distributed more of that population throughout the globe than the ancient Scythian nations were asserted to have done—yet, notwithstanding that, no man during the entire debate ventured to assert that she had increased in prosperity (hear, hear). I have been told that Kingstown has increased—that many houses have been built in that vicinity, and that the neighbourhood is flourishing. But may not that have been done if there was no Union? Do you think that the railroad had nothing to do with that prosperity? or, that that railroad could not have been constructed at much less expense without the Union, and that the Irish gentry would not have been better able to purchase houses in that and other neighbourhoods than they now are? During this debate there was no instance given of any description of increase in commerce but in the production of linen yarn, the export of which Mr. Perry thinks is just as profitable to the country as the sale of completely bleached linen. He ought to have recollected that yarn is a raw material, having undergone but one substantial stage of process—to be transformed by several other stages of process, such for example, weaving, bleaching, and others, into a more valuable article, and therefore the export of yarn can't be at all compared to the export of linen.

The learned Alderman had taken up what had been heretofore the resort of able men—the *argumentum ad hominem*—an attack on my published opinions, and dwelt upon it very properly at considerable length. He alleged that judging from that opinion the peerage of Ireland could not long exist consistently with my views as a protection to the Irish Protestants—but he has not treated me with perfect candour. He has quoted my attacks on the House of Peers—inducing an inference that I wished to

abolish that body. He however omitted the principal object of my speeches, namely, the plan of peerage reform, which was this. I proposed that the House of Lords should consist of a number, not exceeding 150, to be chosen by popular election out of the entire peerage, continuing at the same time the prerogative of the Crown to create peers. That was not an abolition of the House of Peers, but an amelioration of the system under which they should legislate. The people of England appeared to be with me, but other events have occurred since which have, perhaps, driven my plan from their recollection; but I candidly tell you that many of the popular leaders were jealous of my influence, and that if the plan had been suggested by others, more attention would be paid to it. I am not, however, bound by the plan I then proposed, if the working it out should impede the restoration of the Irish Parliament; when the Union is repealed, if the learned Alderman will give me his assistance, we shall prepare a bill in which the complete privileges of the Irish peerage shall be inserted, and when the Irish constitution is restored full efficacy shall be given to the House of Lords in Ireland. I maintained that England's dependencies in all parts of the world had their own local parliaments, and the learned Alderman seemed to think I was ignorant that they were dependent parliaments. I admit they mere—but I say the value even of a dependent parliament is lost to Ireland. In Canada the parliament of the inferior class has vindicated the civil and religious liberty of the people. The French party in that country, being Roman Catholics, kept faith with their Protestant fellow-countrymen who joined them in attaining free institutions, and, entirely oblivious of by-gone differences and persecutions, they only sought the common good of all. The example of Canada has shown, a dependent parliament there has given full protection to the Canadian people. Yes, I have never said it before, but I am encouraged now to say it by what has occurred in this Assembly. I know its effect upon the country—I know what relief it will give to quiet men of every party—I am ready to do this—let them give us even a dependent Parliament. I never said it before, but I am always for taking an instalment when I cannot get the whole, and I will take that. If it should work well for the country, I will ask no more, but if it should work ill, I cannot bind my countrymen or prevent them from seeking for more. I would never, however, consent to a foreign legal appeal, or in the judicial authority not being final; that is a principle I would hold inviolate, but a Parliament inferior to the English Parliament I would accept as an instalment if I found the people ready to go with me, and if it were offered me by competent authority. It must first be offered me—mark that—I never will seek it. By this declaration I am bound thus far, that if the period should



come when I am called upon practically to act upon it, I will do so ; but I will not give up my exertions for the independent legislation until from some substantial quarter that offer is made. I know I may risk something of popularity by making this statement, but the citizens of Dublin have seen already that I can encounter unpopularity, aye, and personal danger, without apprehension, when I think myself right in principle (much applause).

Upon this subject I must not be mistaken, I never will ask for or look for any other, save an independent legislature, but if others offer me a subordinate parliament, I will close with any such authorized offer and accept that offer. We did not hitherto know each other ; but now that we do, I trust there will be a kindlier spirit abroad (hear, hear). For my own part I can say that I am working for Ireland. I thank God I can say that I am at work for all Ireland. It is not for me, at my time of life, to be trifling with the Eternal name, but I say, as I am in the presence of my God, that I am working honestly as well as zealously, desiring the superiority of none, and only wishing to rescue my country from thralldom, and to give to her the station of a nation (hear). There is another point on which I should wish to follow the learned Alderman. I admit he made a strong and powerful speech,—not, however, by directly denying the incompetence of the Irish Parliament to pass the act of Union—not meeting my authorities in the slightest degree, or endeavouring to shake them, but by struggling to show the inconvenience that would result from the doctrine, and the danger to property, if it were assumed that all the laws that were made from 1800 to the present moment would be totally void if my principle were triumphant (cries of hear, hear). He showed—and having been in the right, and having a strong topic to descant upon, he showed powerfully, and in a manner that must have made an impression on the house—the apprehension of that danger ; but, though he did not, I am sure, borrow those arguments from others, he might have borrowed them. I'll tell him where he might find them—he would find them in the Irish Parliamentary debates of 1781 and 1782. They were the topics put forward, but not with so much rhetorical talent as that displayed by the learned Alderman, by those who opposed the independence of the Irish legislature. They said that principle would set aside the acts passed in England in reference to Ireland, and the entire English body of law, especially those acts relating to property, enacted in England, if they passed the declaration of Irish legislative independence, “for,” said they, “you say that no power on earth has authority to bind Ireland but the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons” (loud cries of “hear, hear,”). The adversaries said, by that declaration there would be set aside the laws previously passed, and the purchases and contracts made under

those laws. That thus the principle of independent legislation would rob the purchasers of land of their purchase money—they would rob the widows of their marriage settlements, and rob the children of their portions (hear). How was that argument afterwards met? It was met by Mr. Saurin's principle, and I pray you to recollect what that principle was. It was this, and it was put forward with all Saurin's sagacity, and he was one of the most sagacious of human beings (hear). He said, "You can make the Union binding as a law, but you cannot make it obligatory on conscience. It will be obeyed as long as England is strong, but resistance to it will be in the abstract a duty, and the exhibition of that resistance will be a mere matter of prudence." He did not, however, when he said that, forget that the Union might pass in spite of his resistance—but he looked to the future repeal of that measure, and he furnished a principle of legislation which would protect everybody. He allowed the binding "*as a law*" of the Union, which he declared resistance to it to be a duty. This principle protects and keeps in force, until expressly repealed, all intermediate legislation. But how did they meet the argument in 1782? I will tell you—by five lines of Yelverton's bill. Keeping in force the intermediate legislation exactly as Saurin's principle sanctions and requires. I hope that the learned Alderman will yet draw up a similar bill, and that Butt's bill will yet be as celebrated as Yelverton's bill (cheers and laughter).

Why then should we acquiesce in the present state of things? Why should we accept the advice Mr. Perry and Purcell give us to lie down like paltry recreants, beneath the burdens which oppress the hearts core of Ireland? For my part I will not acquiesce in such wrongs and insults. I fling acquiescence to the winds. I will not patiently lie down in the hope that some person will take compassion upon us, and do us justice (loud cheers). I will not do it—my conscience forbids it—my judgment condemns it—my feelings spurn it (cheers).

"Where is the slave so lowly,  
Condemned to chains unholy,  
Who, could he burst  
His bonds at first,  
Would pine beneath them slowly?"

(loud cheers). I AM NOT THAT SLAVE (renewed cheers). I never will submit to it. And now what remains for me to do? I have to meet my friend Mr. Symes on his objections.

He admits—and who can now deny it?—that I have proved eight out of nine of my propositions, and what is his objection to my proof of that ninth proposition? That proposition is not a matter of by-gone fact, and history which is in its nature incontrovertible, but it is a matter of future hope and expectation, savouring of prophecy, and which there is an incapability of re-

ducing to logical demonstration. Of future events, there can be only moral proofs, but I think I shall bring my moral proofs as close to demonstration as the nature of the case will admit. He weakened my argument by the impracticability of the theme, and, it is, therefore, I fail in its perfect demonstration. But cannot I show it by comparison? Ireland, before she was independent, was in poverty, destitution, and misery, and since the enactment of the Union we have only a repetition of the scenes of 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780. There was, to be sure, a learned doctor, Dr. Andrews—the Provost of Trinity College, who made a speech in 1776, in which he attempted to show that the country was prosperous; and an old counsellor named Harwood, who pulled his cloak from right to left while speaking—as old counsellors are in the habit of doing (great laughter)—made the following speech in reply :—“ He congratulated the house upon such a senator, the University upon such a president, and the kingdom upon such an advocate, who had proved all at once to be so very rich, from of late being so very poor. As to myself, said he, it would be the utmost ingratitude if I did not return the gentleman my particular thanks for the pleasure he made me feel during his very long, yet his very short oration, for he persuaded me that every halfpenny in my pocket was turned into a guinea! Nor am I convinced that the thing may not be so still; wherefore, let me examine.” Then, pulling some out of his pocket, he turned round to the house, and concluded with these words—“ Oh no, my dear friends, I find I was deceived, for the halfpence are but halfpence still” (loud laughter). That was the way the allegation of prosperity was turned into ridicule before ’78 and ’82. I have read to you a volume of evidence so conclusive as to be totally untouched, for on those points there has not been the least disparagement of my arguments or authority. I have, I say, placed beyond doubt or cavil, that the greatest prosperity—the greatest augmentation of wealth and comfort ever known in any country, followed the declaration of legislative independence in 1782. I used the words of Lord Clare, that no nation on the face of the earth had ever arisen so rapidly in all kinds of prosperity—in agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial prosperity—as Ireland did under her own Parliament. Recollect, that in that Parliament there was but a section of the people represented; and if with such bad materials such prosperity was produced, oh! have I not a right to use the argument that, with a Parliament identified with every portion of the people, that prosperity would be multiplied a thousand fold? At all events, there is no doubt of the fact that legislative independence produced happiness and prosperity. Tell me any country that ever yet failed to become prosperous when she became independent. I challenged you before to do it, and I now repeat the

challenge. The knowledge derived from history, ancient lore, and recent recollection, must establish the fact. No country ever yet shook off a foreign yoke that did not advance in prosperity—(hear, hear). Holland, with its wet ditches and half-dried dikes, with the sea perpetually struggling against her very existence, and with the power of Spain thundering upon her, asserted her right to civil and religious liberty, and prosperity equal to hers was not known in Europe. Belgium threw off the yoke of Holland, and has since risen to a state of prosperity to be envied by many countries, and only to be equalled by what Ireland could be if she had an independent legislature (hear, hear). Am I not entitled to adduce this as a proof of the value of an independent legislature? Is not the value of it proved by the benefit it has already done to this country from the year 1782 up to the passing of the act of Union? Yes, I may say my ninth proposition is matter not alone of prophecy, but of confident hope and undoubted anticipation.

And now, having detained you so long, let me thank my adversaries for this discussion. You have made an impression on your country, and if you deem it worth your consideration, upon the humble individual who addresses you, by the manner in which you conducted this debate. Why, I ask, should we differ amongst ourselves? For my part I am not here as the advocate of any party in particular: I am not here certainly as the advocate of the Tories; and I am as far from appearing here as the advocate of the Whigs. I am not here to foment quarrels about the government of Lord De Grey, or the government of Lord Normanby. I am not here for sectarian purposes. I have at my side a Church of England Protestant, Alderman O'Neill; I have also at my side a Presbyterian friend, Mr. McClelland. Here we stand together, Protestant, Presbyterian, and Catholic, the evidence of our social condition—the evidence of our future unanimity. If I thought I was so lost to all feelings of propriety and decorum as to be capable of saying one word in disparagement of the religious convictions of any man in the community, however widely his doctrines might differ from my own, I would give up for ever the struggle in which I am engaged (hear). But intolerance and bigotry are hourly disappearing under the influence of increased enlightenment, and sure I am that happier days for the cause of true religion are in store for all the nations of the earth. There is scarcely a country in the world where a man is now persecuted for conscience' sake. Indeed, I believe, that with the exception of two Protestant states there is not a spot in the civilised universe where a difference of religious belief is regarded as a justification for oppression. I allude to Sweden and Denmark. In Denmark some Baptist missionaries have, as I am informed, been cruelly persecuted;

but I know of no other place where such practices of tyranny are permitted. I do most firmly believe that, according as irritating topics of religious discrepancies are passing away, a spirit of true unalloyed devotion is springing up in the hearts of men. An evidence to the truth of this assertion may be found in the fact, that more attention is paid now to the performance of religious duties than in by-gone times. The ordinances of religion are more universally respected than of old. Chief Justice Doherty expressed this sentiment, as relates to our Protestant inhabitants, a few days since in the Court of Common Pleas, if his words were rightly represented, and I have no doubt that he was warranted in advancing that assertion. If you go into any house of worship in the city you will find it more crowded than in former days. I have the words of Chief Justice Doherty for alleging that this is the case with respect to your Protestant places of worship, and in my own church this happy revolution is so conspicuous that the faithful who now throng around the altar rails to receive communion on the Sunday are greater in number than the whole congregation used formerly to be. This proves incontestably that a greater attention is paid in modern days to the substance of religion than it was our wont formerly to perceive; and indeed I am glad also that more attention is paid to solemn ceremonies in your churches than formerly, because I hold it that outward forms have a beneficial effect, and I think that we should enlist the heart as well as the head in the cause of religion. Yes, bigotry is vanishing from the land, and intolerance, persecution, and oppression, its hateful attendants, are also disappearing from amongst us (hear, hear). We no longer detest each other in consideration of our respective tenets; but, under the sovereign influence of enlightenment and Christian charity, a fellowship of feeling is springing up in our hearts, and the day has arrived when we may all combine, as of one accord, for the benefit of our lovely country. The sun in his travels shines not upon a land more picturesque in its features, more beautiful in its scenery, more unbounded in the richness of its natural endowments. "The purest of crystal, the brightest of green," are lavished on her fair domain. Who is it that can contemplate without emotions of the most profound admiration her splendid harbours, her noble estuaries, her fertile plains, her verdant vallies, her majestic mountains, over whose rugged sides gush vivid waters with a constancy which almost resembles electricity, and a power and impetus which (but how the thought falls in the phrase!) are capable of turning the machinery of the world? Blessed with a climate the most genial and benign, and inhabited by people the most gallant, hardy, generous, virtuous, and temperate, of any on the face of the earth—what is there too splendid, what too magnificent to be achieved by such a country? Heaven is my witness, that in

looking for this mighty boon, I seek it not for the benefit of any particular class or section of my fellow-countrymen, but in the name and for the sake of *all* Irishmen (cries of "hear, hear"). I would not accept of the Repeal, fondly though I aspire to it, unless I got it with the co-operation and approbation of the great mass of my countrymen, for I never set my heart upon a party triumph; and I am alone incited to the present contest by my devotion to the cause of liberty and my indomitable love of fatherland (cheers). Oh! my heart bounds and my spirit exults when I contemplate the joys which are in store for my country. Yes—

"The nations have fallen, but thou art still young,  
Thy sun is but rising while others are set,  
And though slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung,  
The full noon of freedom SHALL beam round thee yet."

The honourable and learned gentleman resumed his seat amid the most deafening plaudits, which were continued uninterruptedly for several minutes. Silence having been at length with great difficulty obtained,

Mr. O'CONNELL again rose, and said that he had heard with the deepest regret, that some ill-conducted persons had offered an affront to Alderman Butt, when he was on his way home from the Assembly-house, in company with his friends on the day preceding. Such behaviour was exceedingly disgraceful, and no one would attempt it except a person who wished to excite in his (Mr. O'Connell's) breast feelings of sorrow and indignation. He trusted that that conduct would not be repeated.

Alderman PURCELL then rose and said—My Lord Mayor, I had every hope, when Mr. O'Connell prefaced his address to this house upon the observations that fell from me yesterday respecting the Repeal motion, that I would have been, at least, exempt from any personal attack as to the inconsistency of my opinions and feelings connected with that measure (hear, hear). He has stated that I was a member of the Precursor Society; and certainly he has candidly avowed that at the time I became connected with that body I had an explicit understanding with him that I would use my utmost endeavours, as far as man could do, to forward the objects for the advancement of which it was called into being, with this strict proviso, that Repeal was altogether to be excluded from the discussions of that body (hear, hear). So far, my Lord, I think I have fully proved my consistency as regards the Precursor Society (hear, hear). He has been instructed to produce documents from the National Trades' Political Union, showing that I was a member of it. That I was admitted a member is quite true, that body having in view matters connected with the political interests of Ireland, and I felt honoured at being elected a member of a political society acting

in unison with my opinions. But the same principle applies to that body also, namely, that the Repeal question was in abeyance while I was connected with it, and I call on some of its members, who are now present, to say if I ever visited their meetings, unless on an occasion to oppose the introduction of poor laws into this country (hear, hear)? I called that body together in my own name on that occasion, my object being to oppose that law, and to have substituted for a poor rate some measure for the employment of the people; and when that society elected me a member, they knew, as well as I knew myself, that my opinions were adverse to Repeal (hear).

The LORD MAYOR said that before he put the question he was sure the assembly would agree with him that he had a right to express his opinions. When the motion was first introduced by notice, he expressed his sincere regret and disappointment that the agitation of Repeal, or any other political question, should have been introduced into that house. He thought that it would be found to interfere very much with their usefulness. He also said he thought that there was an understanding that that house should not be converted into a political arena. He was still of the same opinion (hear, hear). He thought it would tend to interfere with their usefulness. He was not at all indisposed to a discussion of the question freely and fully elsewhere. He was an advocate of free discussion, and free opinion, as the birthright of a freeborn citizen, but he was still under the impression that when they called upon him to become Lord Mayor—when they “selected” him, which was the word used in the requisition, he would not be placed in the painful position in which he found himself. His opinions upon the subject of Repeal were well known to his friends, and he might add to the citizens generally; therefore he did not think that his friends in that assembly would call upon him to stand for the office of Lord Mayor if they intended to make the question of Repeal an essential one during his year of office. He did not desire to become Lord Mayor of Dublin—he never had the slightest ambition of that nature—and no consideration induced him to accept the arduous office but the unanimous call of the Assembly to do so, and a hope that he would discharge his duties to the satisfaction and for the benefit of his fellow-citizens (hear, hear). He regretted that some kind friend had not then whispered in his ear, that such a motion would be brought forward; for it would have saved him from the painful position in which he was placed, and a great deal of inconvenience would have been saved the Assembly from the awkwardness of having a chief magistrate opposed to the great majority of the members upon that important and interesting question—for it was one of vital importance and deep interest to all parties (hear, hear). He was quite prepared if his mind had undergone any

change upon the subject to have avowed it; but such a change did not result from the present discussion (hear, hear). He did not like to go into the merits of the question—it was not his province; but fearing lest they might charge him with cowardice if he shrunk from an expression of his opinion, he begged leave to state it (hear, hear). Alderman O'Connell could scarcely wonder that a tyro in politics, such as he was, should be unprepared to vote with him, when an entire change in the constitution of the country would result from the accomplishment of the object sought for (cheers). He was justified in using the word, for the measure brought forward by the honourable gentleman amounted to the establishment of a new “constitution.” As a mercantile man he considered that some unsound doctrine had been put forward regarding trade and commerce generally (hear, hear). He had heard members talk of the great advantages which they would have from certain commercial treaties. Surely Spain, Portugal, and France would rather enter into a commercial treaty with a wealthy country like England than with a poor country like Ireland (hear). He did not at all admit that increase of trade would be the natural consequence of Repeal. It was not fine harbours and noble rivers alone that could create trade (hear, hear). What was the case of Liverpool, with all its disadvantages, its bad harbour for instance; Providence had so blessed it that it was prosperous. It was surrounded by coal, salt, and manufactures, and its coal alone would turn the scale against Ireland. It might be said that they had foreign trade at one time. He admitted it, but at that time the merchants and manufacturers had large profits, in some instances 50 per cent. upon their transactions. Now, what profit had they? Their trade was miserably reduced, and no manufacturer now was making five per cent.; and he was sorry to say, that one of the wealthiest manufacturers in the city, found the pressure so great upon him in consequence of the reduction in trade generally, that he was preparing to leave the country (loud cries of hear from the Repealers). One of the most talented gentlemen in that house or in that city, had kindly suggested to him three alternatives:—First, that he might become a Tory, and turn recreant to his country. He had never been a Tory (hear). From the earliest period of his life he was a warm and sincere advocate of every measure which he thought would do good to his country. The second alternative was to become a repealer. He would do so with the greatest pleasure if his judgment were convinced, and he was still open to conviction (hear). The third alternative was one which was most congenial to his feelings, namely, to resign the high honours conferred upon him, and the onerous duties he had undertaken to discharge into other hands and retire into private life (loud cries of no, no, from both sides of the house). He had been brought from private life, and he



could assure those whom he addressed that there was no position which he so much delighted in. He did not desire to become a public man. He had been selected to enter public life by all parties, but having overcome his great objection to it he thought he saw an opportunity of becoming useful to his fellow citizens by accepting the office which he then held. He yielded to the wishes of others, but if he consulted his own taste he would have declined the high honours that had been so kindly conferred on him. Gentlemen had spoken of having made sacrifices. It would be no sacrifice to him to bow to the decision of those by whom he had been elected. He would retire to private life if necessary, for nothing could give him so much pleasure as the joys and endearments of it. He thought that those who advocated Repeal were right in endeavouring to carry it, and not leaving any stone unturned to benefit their country, and certain he was that those who had so ably and zealously advocated that question had no other object in view (cheers). If he were a repealer he would agitate constitutionally to bring about the measure, but he did not think that was practicable. He could however assure them that it would not be any sacrifice to him if he laid down his office, in order to enable the Assembly the better to promote the object which they had so much at heart. He hoped that he had not given offence to any one, but he could not avoid giving expression to his opinions upon the subject (hear hear).

Alderman O'CONNELL said that his lordship had not offended any one, but he had afflicted many (hear). He had spoken of an implied understanding, and he (Alderman O'Connell) thought that they had no reason to feel afflicted that the understanding was implied, and not expressed (hear, hear). When he, amongst others, solicited his lordship so pertinaciously to accept the office, had he dropped the slightest word expressive of a wish for such an understanding he would have kindly told him what his intentions were, and give him an opportunity of rejecting the office (hear, hear). He had heard political, not party, subjects discussed in that house before, and what the distinction was between one subject and the other never occurred to him. He (Alderman O'Connell) therefore begged to disclaim being a party to any such deception, or mistake, as that referred to by his lordship. He would have brought the question forward long before, only being in the chair he did not like to place himself in a position where he would be obliged to advocate the question, and also decide upon matters of form (hear, hear). A single word from his lordship, which the intimacy existing between them justified, and now he found was required, would have induced him to have told him what course he intended taking. He trusted that he and all who acted with him had discharged their duty in a manner calculated as little as possible to hurt the feelings of his

lordship—(hear, hear)—but in conclusion he begged to say that he did not think it necessary to reply to his lordship's observations in reference to Repeal. They certainly were not those which would induce him to abandon his motion (hear, hear).

The house then proceeded to vote.

The **LORD MAYOR** put the amendment proposed by Alderman Butt, which was negatived. A division being called for, tellers were appointed (Alderman O'Connell and Councillor Thomas), when there appeared—

For the motion,	...	...	...	...	41
Against it, (including the Lord Mayor's vote)					15
Majority	...	...	...	...	—26

The announcement was received with cheers. The following are the names of the members who voted :—

FOR THE MOTION OF ALDERMAN O'CONNELL.

**ALDERMEN**—Rooney, Egan, Butler, Keshan, Gardiner, O'Connell, O'Neill, M'Kenna.

**COUNCILLORS**—Pierson, Barlow, M'Loughlin, Nolan, Dunne, Fitzpatrick, Fogarty, Taggart, Walsh, Arabin, White, Atkinson, Reynolda, O'Brien, Fagan, Moran, Tuite, O'Neill, Gavan, Shannon, Fallan, Bury, Burke, Andrews, Sheridan, Reilly, Grace, M'Kenna, Campbell, T. Kirwan, Staunton, J. Kirwan, and M'Clelland.

FOR THE AMENDMENT OF ALDERMAN BUTT.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

**ALDERMEN**—Kinahan, J. T. Boyce, Joseph Boyce, Isaac Butt, and Peter Purcell.

**COUNCILLORS**—Symes, Guinness, Darley, Thompson, Smith, Perry, Hudson, Thorpe, and Thomas.

Councillor **THOMAS** then proposed the following resolution in the shape of a protest :—

“That believing that the agitation of the repeal of the legislative Union of England and Ireland is calculated to interfere with the prosperity of Ireland, and if successful would only eventuate in the dismemberment of the British empire and the consequent ruin of Ireland, we feel ourselves bound by every feeling of loyalty to our Queen, and regard for the interests of our country, to declare our determination to support and maintain by every means in our power the legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.”

Councillor **THOMPSON** seconded the resolution.

The **LORD MAYOR** put the foregoing, which was negatived without a division; and a second division took place upon the original motion, when the numbers appeared as before stated.

Councillor **HUDSON** moved that the names of the members who had voted be recorded.

Alderman **O'CONNELL** said that they would be recorded

in Irish history, and upon the column in College-green (hear, hear). The honourable gentleman then moved that a committee be appointed from the majority to prepare the draft of a petition to parliament for a Repeal of the Union. Motion passed.

The Assembly then adjourned to the following Tuesday.

There were absent from the discussion, Alderman Sir John Power, Bart., Councillor Ignatius Callaghan (confined from severe indisposition), Councillor M'Donnell, and Councillor Torrens M'Cullagh.

# APPENDIX

TO THE

## REPEAL DISCUSSION.

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Our readers cannot fail to be well pleased by finding the speech made by Mr. O'Connell, at the Repeal Association, on the next day of meeting after his signal triumph at the Corporation, added to the Report of the Discussion. It is valuable, as manifesting the spirit of moderation and good feeling that would actuate the great Champion of his country's liberties—and those who are embarked with him in the same cause—if the ultimate triumph which we believe he is destined to achieve, had been finally accomplished : There was no exultation over antagonists who had been totally vanquished in the fair field of discussion. The Liberator gave credit for candour, gentlemanly demeanour and honesty of purpose to his opponents ; he held out the hand of kindly feeling and sincere good will to all. And after having watched with considerable anxiety the progress of the whole discussion, we are warranted in entertaining well-founded hopes, that the day is not far distant when that feeling and good will shall be reciprocal on the part of those who are at present opposed to him from prejudice and education ; and when that moment arrives Ireland shall be prosperous and happy—she shall be a Nation again.

Mr. O'CONNELL rose to address the meeting, and was received with loud cheers. When the acclamation had subsided, the learned gentleman said—I am an Irishman (cheers), and an ardent admirer of the fair and fruitful land of my birth (cheers)—my fatherland (great cheering). I am an Irishman—I have entire faith and full confidence in the virtues of my countrymen, the inhabitants of that land (cheers). Such are the impulses of my political conduct, and I come here joyfully to repeat those words, after our three days' contest in the Corporation (hear). We had a glorious three days of it. They were not like the three days of the French revolution—they were not like the three days of the Belgian revolution :

those were the days of strife and blood—ours were the days of peaceful contest and more glorious triumph, because it injured no person, and went to benefit all (cheers). I rejoice in those three days—they were three great days for Ireland (hear, hear, and cheers). Formerly, when we could get one great day for Ireland, we vaunted for it; and what is there we may not hope from these great days for Ireland? (cheers). Yes, they were in every respect delightful days (hear, hear). There was a contest, but it was conducted as became gentlemen and fellow-citizens: there was a controversy, but there was an utter absence of acrimony and ill-will (hear, hear). I from this spot thank—to be sure I thank the majority, and they deserve the thanks of the nation and of the world (cheers); but I heartily thank the minority, and every person that spoke, for the manner in which they conducted themselves (hear). There was not one harsh, or irritating, or provocative expression made use of by one of them. There was the firmness of men defending their own position, but at the same time displaying the utmost courtesy towards those differing from them (hear, hear). And this should be recollected—it was the first time we met since the Irish Parliament was filched from us—and we shall have it again; but, from that period to this, it was the first time we met in open controversy, and in fair though adverse discussion, without one single word being used to irritate or shock the prejudices of any person; and, above all, without the least unpleasant allusion to the profession or faith of any men amongst us (cheers, and loud cries of hear). I thank the Conservatives from my heart; they behaved like gentlemen and fellow-Christians (cheers). It is an earnest of our cordiality, and of the co-operation that we may hereafter expect from Irishmen of every class and persuasion (cheers). We had a majority—and may God Almighty bless them here and hereafter, we had three Protestant gentlemen in that majority (cheers). We had my excellent and venerated friend, Alderman O'Neill, a Protestant gentleman; we had my most respected and revered friend, Mr. McClelland, a Presbyterian, and a true and hearty one; and Mr. Arabin, whom to name is to eulogise; I am proud to say those three gentlemen stood by their country. Two of them are members of the church establishment, and the other is a Presbyterian, and they stood by their country during those days with a zeal equal to, if not exceeding, any Catholic in the Assembly. I am delighted to pay this tribute to those three excellent gentlemen, and I confess I am not a little pleased that there was one Catholic amongst our adversaries, for it took away the possibility of making the allegation that it was a religious question. I am very glad that there was *that one*, for I think he did a great deal of good (hear, hear). I believe that the speech of Alderman Purcell\* on that occasion was calculated to do more good to the cause than the speeches of any other person (hear, hear). He stimulated the

honest pride of Ireland ; he boasted of his pig and bullock societies, and the quantity of money they received ; he taunted the people of Ireland for not preferring their country, and for not having as much zeal for it as the pig factors had for fattening pigs (hear, hear). I am exceedingly obliged to him. It was delightful he should come forward with the taunt, and, therefore, I am glad the minority had one unhappy poor Papist amongst them (laughter).

I cannot proceed further without expressing the meed of my heartiest approbation to the Liberal press on this occasion (cheers). I will say that the *Freeman's Journal* exhibited the greatest proofs of capacity of every kind—of intellect and fidelity in its reporters—of zeal and great expenditure on the part of its proprietors, as well as immense personal sacrifices for the national cause ; showing the perfect capacity which Ireland possesses, even under unfavourable circumstances, of producing a report that would do credit to the metropolitan press, and which was never before exceeded in point of energy, expense, and success.

A Voice—A cheer for Dr. Gray.

Mr. O'CONNELL—My friend Mr. Barrett followed ; the *Freeman's Journal* led the way, and the *Pilot* came after it (cheers). But, I must say that the load of the fight and the heat of the battle fell upon the *Freeman's Journal* ; and we would be unworthy of freedom if we did not mark our appreciation of its efforts on this occasion by an unanimous and enthusiastic vote of thanks. I will not proceed farther without moving it (cheers). I beg, Sir, to move the thanks of the Association to the Liberal Press, but more especially, and in the first place, to the *Freeman's Journal*, for giving the public such full and accurate information on the subject (cheers).

Mr. STEELE rose and said—Sir, I will not interrupt my august friend, the moral regenerator, O'Connell, at a moment like the present, by any lengthened observations ; it would be a kind of traitorism to Ireland to obstruct the rush of his intellectual tide, at the very crises when he is about to teach us how Ireland is to be made a nation (peals of applause). I merely rise to express the delight I feel in rising to second his motion for a vote of gratitude for that resplendent effort of the *Freeman's Journal*—the most resplendent effort ever made in Ireland (shouts of applause, and cries of hear). Mr. Chairman, I am a man not overmuch in the habit of using my words at random, as you all know (hear, hear, hear), and I do most solemnly declare that the writing of that report of the proceedings of the Town Council in the *Freeman's Journal*, was (for what would the proceedings be without circulation through the empire and the world ?) nothing short of a deed of blessedness to the cause of the liberty and independence of Ireland (cheering for some minutes).

The resolution was put and carried with acclamation.

Mr. O'CONNELL—Well, Sir, the next subject of gratitude is, I will say, not the indulgence of any puerile or personal vanity, but the firm assertion of a mere fact, and that is—that there never was an argument more triumphant than the argument on the part of the Repeal (loud cheers). I have been now forty-three years listening to arguments and discussions, but before I proceed one particle further, I must say this—that that Report of those proceedings ought not to perish (hear, hear). There cannot but be some unavoidable inaccuracies in any hurried report for the public, which is done rapidly, as in the case of the metropolitan reports of the parliamentary debates, and the *Freeman's Journal* in this instance; for it is impossible to fill up the entire outline of the speech as the party actually delivered it; but that discussion ought not to be allowed to perish, and should be put in a shape to be permanently useful (hear). With that view I will begin to-morrow morning the correction of my speeches, for publication in a pamphlet shape, and I hope the Association will assist my friend, Mr. Levy, who will edit it.

Mr. LEVY—I will undertake the editing of it.

Mr. O'CONNELL—I will at once commence the correcting of the two speeches—my first and last speeches. I trust not my last speech—though I would cheerfully consent to make the last speech on the scaffold, if by doing so I could carry the Repeal of the Union (hear, hear, and cheers). I now come down to the matters of facts and arguments, and I must say I am the more ready to publish it in consequence of my challenge. I was myself challenged to argue the question hand to hand, and foot to foot (hear, hear). I happened not to be in the room at the time, but I came in sufficient time to accept the challenge (hear). Let no man accuse me of vanity, or suppose I am flattering my own pride when I talk of the triumphant result of that debate (hear). I laid down distinct and simple propositions, and I venture to assert that none of those propositions were touched by the arguments at the other side, or damaged in the slightest degree (cheers). I repeat it, the arguments were all at our side, and I throw this out that I may be contradicted, if any man can contradict me (hear). The report of the debate is before the public, and I stand by every word that is in the *Freeman's Journal* report, though there are some trifling literal inaccuracies in it, such as inserting steam-vessel where sailing vessel should be put; but standing on that report I defy any man to show me where one of the enemies of Repeal was triumphant (cheers). They said we were good at declaiming where we could not be answered, and when we had but a mob to address—for they call the people of Ireland a mob when they are not courting them (hear). They said, when we had but a mob before us we were very valiant at speech making, but could not argue the question (hear, hear). There is not such a thing, I

am sure, in Ireland as an anti-Repealer, except some stupid crawling creature; for every man that I meet admits the benefit that would result from Repeal, though they have some reason or other that prevents them from joining us. But we will labour for them, and when we get the Parliament in College-green, they shall have the benefit of it (cheers). I repeat the challenge that I gave, and if I be thought tedious in the repetition, I cannot help it, for I feel it to be my duty. I challenge every man connected with the press, either here or in England, to show if we have been beaten in one point of the argument (hear, hear). Let it not be said that we were discussing it before persons who were unprepared; a week elapsed from the time I received the challenge, and they had full time for preparation, and see what is the result? (hear). Let this be remembered, and that it was not against schoolboys we were arguing, or against illiterate or uneducated persons. No; we were arguing with the first talent of the Conservative side; we were arguing with men of rank, station, and information, who, if any good point could be found in the anti-Repeal case, would have found it. Alderman Butt's speech displayed considerable power. I always knew him to be a man of a very high order of intellect, and it is easy to perceive that, even in the mistaken career which I think he is pursuing (hear, hear). I never heard a man make more of a bad cause than he did; and it was nothing but the weight of that cause that sunk down his intellect, and prevented him from making an adequate reply. I don't mean to depreciate his qualities; I respect talent in every person; but there was one thing in his address I followed with a microscopic eye. I watched to see if he would say anything that would commit him against being the friend of Repeal hereafter (hear, hear), and I have the satisfaction to tell you that Alderman Butt is as free to support Repeal, if he should think fit to do so, as I am (cheers). A man of his genius must have had some yearning for his native land, and though the word Ireland may not sound as musically in his ear as in mine, it has in his private ear its charm for him (cheers). Depend upon it that Alderman Butt is in his inmost soul an Irishman, and that we will have him struggling with us for Ireland yet (cheers). Whether for or against us I shall ever esteem him as a man of undoubted talent (cheers). He used every argument that an artful opponent could think of to weaken our cause, and endeavoured to invest the topic with the appearance of a religious question. But, feeling it to be impossible to turn it into a religious question at present, having previously declared that the Catholic gentry were against us, in which he was confirmed by Mr. Peter Purcell, he argued that this which is an Irish question now, would turn into a Catholic question by-and-by (hear, hear). It was an ingenious mode of getting rid of the present difficulties. He could not meet me when I told him, this is not a Catholic question but an Irish



question—this is not a struggle for sectarian advantage, but for the advantage of every person: it is not our object that the Catholic may acquire more privileges, but that the Presbyterian and Protestant, as well as the Catholic, shall have Ireland for themselves (hear, and cheers). He could not deny that, but he argued that it would become a religious question by-and-by, and if Conservatives assist us, and if Protestants come to our aid, as they ought to do, how, I ask, can it be turned into a Catholic question when we will have more Protestants supporting it than Catholics? (hear, hear). I will not waste your time by arguing on such a ridiculous prophecy; give me a man that will rely upon facts and I make him a present of all the prophecies he can bind together. He dexterously availed himself of the programme of the resolutions of this Association, and said, you are excluding Repealers because by the rules of your Association you seek for a great deal more, and you will not allow any man to be a member of your body who will not pass the shiboleth of the entire of your regulations. You want me to be a Repealer, and not only that, but you want me to be for a fixity of tenure, for the extension of the franchise, for the appropriation of the revenues of the Established Church to the purposes of education, you wish me to join for universal suffrage, for the property qualification, and vote by ballot. If you were a sincere and honest Repealer would you clog your cause by so many conditions? Sir, I feel the force of that argument. I want all Irishmen to join me, and although I will not give up one particle of my own opinions, yet I shall not ask any man who wishes to become a Repealer, what his opinions may be on other subjects (hear.) I proclaim from this spot, let any man declare himself a Repealer, and he shall be admitted without any further pledge; but if he were for the no-property qualification, for the extension of the suffrage, the vote by ballot, the equalization of the electoral districts, he cannot join us unless he is a Repealer (cheers).

We have gained a glorious victory—but how shall we profit by it? Is it by the insolence of a triumph over our opponents, or by doing those foolish things which characterised the conduct of the Chartists, if men did not go the full length with them, or go an inch beyond, or stay an inch further back than they did. Oh! no, no: where are they now, or what has left them floundering on the strand like flukes, when the tide is out, spluttering and flouncing about in every direction? (hear, hear, and laughter). A Grecian tyrant, and an atrocious monster, had a bed, and the man who was not long enough for it was almost torn asunder to make his body of a sufficient length; while on the other hand, the unhappy individual who happened to be too long had a piece of his legs chopped off (a laugh). I will neither pull nor expand a man's conscience with a rope, or cut off his legs because he is of more expansive politics than mine; but if he join me in struggling for Repeal, I shall ask

no more, but I will take no less (hear, hear). We are, Sir, emphatically a Repeal Association; what we want is a combination of Repealers, and common sense tells us, that we have not only made an impression in Ireland, but that our late proceedings shall do so in England and Scotland (cheers). The constituted corporate body of the second city in the British empire—the real representatives of the people, for we are the greatest representative body in Ireland—have declared by a majority of 41, and if Mr. Callaghan were not ill it would be 42 to 15, that the Union is not sufferable, and that the government ought immediately to repeal it (hear). This is a step taken in what I emphatically called the Repeal year. Did I hope to advance our cause so far in an entire year? Oh! that triumphant discussion has forwarded our glorious movement to such a station, that we can now hold out the hand of fellowship to ALL our countrymen who shall become Repealers (cheers). Aye, they shall have my hand, and my heart too (hear). Should they not join with me in every point, but are Repealers, they are admissible; and I mean to move, before I conclude, that we shall receive into the Association every man, provided he is entirely, unconditionally, and unequivocally a Repealer (cheers). What will that do? It will show the Protestants of the land our readiness to concede everything short of principle—that we wish to use no harshness towards them—to erect no wall of separation—to encourage nothing which could create divisions between the common children of a common country: that all we wish for is conciliation—that all we seek for is co-operation, and a combination among Irishmen, fit to belong to a nation—that we want to give a national importance to the country of Irishmen (cheers). Yes, they shall see we are ready to join them heartily (loud cries of hear, hear). Some people may tell me they will not do so; but either they will or they will not; if they do, we shall have the benefit of their co-operation, and they of our triumph. If they do not, no blame can be attached to us because we make the offer, and we shall give ourselves the incalculable advantage of having based our conduct on the noblest of sentiments as appertaining to us, and offered to them (loud cries of hear hear). If we have been triumphant in debate, let us be so in the moral conduct of our cause. Let no man tell me I am shrinking, and if he does so, it is untrue. I am for all the points in the programme, but I will not exclude a man who differs from me in some things, but who will join me heartily in giving Ireland a domestic legislature. Yes, this is a mighty triumph; and it is our duty to give it fresh energy, and to call from this spot, as I do now, upon every man in Ireland to respond to us (cheers). There is a choice to be made, and it may be vanity in me to put it forward—but two individuals have been put forward, and Ireland must make her election. Let them stay back with Peter Purcell—let them be “quiet,” as he

advises them, or come forward with me (cries of "we will"). I put that question to every locality in Ireland, and if they cannot decide it otherwise let them toss up, and I hope it will be head to win; but, at all events, from this spot I call on all patriotic Irishmen to decide between him and me. He says, the rich will not join us—that the great folks will not assist us; but I will make him a present of a great many of them, and if I see them propose anything good for Ireland, I will take off my hat, and be much obliged to them (cheers and laughter). If, however, their object be to increase their rents, and to fatten cattle—to get more money by taking care of pigs, instead of attending to the people. I prefer that people, and let Peter Purcell prefer his pigs (loud cheers). The choice is thus to be made—they must take one side or the other—fat cattle or Ireland! (cheers and laughter).

Ireland has proclaimed that the Corporation of Dublin has done its duty (cheers). How I like to hear your voice (pointing to Councillor M'Donnell,) answer me, and re-echo that sentiment (hear hear). Yes! the Corporation of Dublin has done its duty, and now it is for the people of Ireland to do theirs, and they are performing it nobly. I want to know how many hours we have spent in counting our money to-day? We must borrow two in future, one for counting, and another for talking (cheers). Mr. Peter Purcell had calculated without his host, when he asserted the country is not with us (hear hear). I think he must put on his spectacles, and get the "ready reckoner" to enable him to ascertain our numbers and our receipt of money. Yes, the entire country must declare between us, and there is no part of it which shall not be tested by our presence or our direct communication. It is—it is a delightful movement to see!

How often do I deprecate being charged with vanity, and perhaps I am vain, but I will deprecate the charge no more. Sir, I am proud (great cheering). I stand here a proud man—I never felt more proud, or so proud of my position. I never felt I had done anything more decisive of the fate of Ireland before (cheers). I have given her the opportunity of having a domestic Parliament, if her people choose; it is admitted by all, that it will then be their own fault, their eternal disgrace, if they now do not bestir themselves (cheers). Was there a man in the Corporation who spoke against me, or argued my propositions, who did not admit that if an Irish Parliament were unanimously demanded by the Irish people they were entitled to it? (hear hear). Oh! my countrymen, I humble myself in the presence of God, and if he gave me talents they are not my own, nor are they worth a boast, but this I will say, that it has pleased Providence to put me in a situation beyond any talents I possess, or merits which I can lay claim to, in which I am able to offer to Ireland the restoration of her Parliament (great cheering). *Non meus hic sermo*: there was not

a man who uttered a sentiment against me, in the late debate, who did not admit it. Alderman Butt endeavoured to show that it was difficult, but he admitted it was not impossible; Mr. Guinness said it was a choice of evils, but Ireland had her choice. Mr. Perry said it in express words, and even Peter Purcell himself conceded, by vulgar arithmetic, the matter-of-fact (hear hear). Mr. Symes most manfully avowed it; and as for Alderman Boyce, he said so little, that he neither admitted nor denied it. Every gentleman who spoke was obliged to confess that the Irish people had Repeal in their hands. If I had a voice loud enough to sound to the extremities of the land—if I could be heard from the Atlantic Ocean to the Irish Sea—if I could put my foot on the bridge at Athlone, where the Irish grenadiers stood unarmed and unsheltered amidst the perils they were exposed to—where twelve of them advanced to cut down the draw-bridge under a heavy fire from the English soldiery, and were killed—where twelve more supplied their place, seven out of whom lost their lives; and, when seventeen more advanced, and seven out of that number lay dead with their gallant comrades, still the others persevered—broke the bridge, and saved the fort. Oh! if, I repeat, I were on that bridge, I would proclaim from the centre of Ireland, “rally round me for repeal, and your country is free!” (great cheering). How should I like to stand on that spot, where bravery greater than that of the old Imperial Guard of Napoleon at Leipsic, was exhibited—where coolness unparalelled was exhibited—where brave men confronted death with all its horrors, and with a composure and fearlessness not to be shaken! (hear, and loud cheering). Oh! genius of Ireland! spirit of the mighty dead, come forth! Shine out on our lovely land with a portion of thy ancient greatness; let me stand in the centre, and proclaim around our “sea-girt isle” the glories that await her; let my triumphant voice arouse Ireland peaceably, quietly, tranquilly, firmly, and full of conciliation; let the people awake, with a determined energy, from that centre to the sea which embosoms this country (hear). Let them speak the mind of Ireland, and, with the voice of men who sought their birth-right, let them declare her chains too weak to enslave her, and she would then stand forth protected by her sons—the sons of Erin, who would declare for legislative independence, and they should have it. Yes, yes; your liberty is in your own hands (much cheering).

How often have I looked over the dark and fearful page of her history, and with a melancholy absorption I have contemplated the miseries which were inflicted upon her people! Many, and many a bitter tear rolled down my cheek as I sat alone and pondered over scenes of horror, of fearful violence, and of blood! I thought upon these things, and wept over them with something of the weakness of early childhood; and yet it was not at the

massacres of Strafford—of Cromwell—of Ireton—of Ludlow ; it was not at the recollection of the savage massacre committed when Cromwell's soldiers bayoneted three hundred Irish women opposite the Cross of Wexford ; it was not at the three days of slaughter which reddened the streets of Drogheda with blood, when four thousand human beings were butchered, one thousand of whom were women and children—no, as these things filled me with burning indignation, my pulse throbbed—my sinews grew strong, for I always declared I should one day or other proclaim these atrocities to Ireland ; it was not these things which made me weep ; it was not by these that I was placed in a position where I was unmanned, and almost ashamed to be seen ; it was not this which made me shrink from the eye of her who was my happiness on earth. Oh ! no ; and, although I did weep in reading passages of Irish history, it was when I found, period after period, Irishmen true to themselves if not deserted by their leaders, and betrayed, ruined and lost, when those leaders possessed their entire confidence—or those leaders, abandoned or betrayed by their followers at the moment of otherwise undoubted victory and perfect triumph. They confided in English faith, in English truth, and in English honour : they gave up the sword even in the moment of victory—they abandoned the contest in the hour of triumph, when their proud enemies supplicated almost for mercy, and made them believe in the faith of treaties. Curse them ! why did they acquiesce ? why did they acquiesce ? Do not your minds feel indignant at the conduct of the base wretches who forsook these advantages, and put trust in the honour of England ? (hear, hear.) To come back, however, to the subject upon which I addressed you—you see the situation in which you are placed. We have the victory now within our reach, if we will but follow it up. I proclaim it to man, woman, and child, that they can now enrol themselves for Ireland if they choose to see her free (hear, hear). I want no man to enrol himself with pike, gun, musket, or weapon of any kind. I disclaim such aid—physical force is not my means of conquest. I am an apostle of that sect that has already proved that the greatest amount of freedom can be achieved by the force of public opinion, and by the peaceable combination of religious and honest men with each other (cheers). That is what I want. No magistrate will come out against those who follow my advice—no policeman will arrest you—no soldier will appear to shoot you down. By taking my advice, our struggle will be certain of becoming successful ; and it will, besides, be deserving of the approval of good men, and of the blessing of the Eternal God.

Rally, then, around me. Let my voice be heard to the extremity of the land. Is there any man will tell me that if I had three millions of Repealers I would not be successful : and why should I not have six millions ? (loud cries of hear, hear, and cheers.) Yes, Ireland will deserve to be enslaved, and you will deserve to be the

fathers of crawling creeping slaves, if you do not rally with me in this glorious cause. You have now the opportunity—now is the time for success (hear, hear). Rally, then, around me. Let all Ireland respond to my call, and the link that binds her fetters is broken for ever—while her allegiance to the throne remains pure and unsullied as before. Obey my call, and you will restore your country to yourselves, and you will restore yourselves to your country (great cheers). Let no man tell me that England will not yield the Repeal to us—my answer to that is *bah!* or if you wish to have it in more Attic language—I say *nabocliah!* (cheers and laughter.) Did not England yield to us already, to one million of Emancipators, though that was a sectarian question, calculated for the benefit of only one particular persuasion, whereas the present struggle is for the benefit of all? (hear, hear.) I tell you that I have evidence of the fact already. I led you before to victory, and give me but a peaceable army now, and the victory is your own again (loud cheers). Had we not some practical evidence already of the possibility of getting it? Did not Mr. Staunton, who made so admirable a speech on political economy during the three days' debate, produce at a Repeal meeting a letter from an Irish nobleman, written at the time of the Repeal agitation of 1831, in which it was stated that the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel had at that time conferred on the propriety of moderating the union—in other words, doing away with it as a union, and giving us some kind of a local Parliament (hear, hear). They thought of it already, and we will continue to remind them of it (loud cheers). By the admission of everybody, our country is in our hands. We have shown that Ireland is ready to embrace with affection every one of her sons, and, oh! how is superiority of religion to be shown in any other way save that in which we acted? They may accuse me if they please of religious bigotry, but I believe the religion that I profess to be the pure truth of God—and do I think it requires for its support the aid of the policeman, or the bayonet, or the musket, or the torture? Oh, no! The Irish Catholics have never persecuted, and never will. They are the only people on the face of the earth who, from persecution were three times restored to power without persecuting in their turn. I held out a challenge in the Corporation, and I now repeat it to all Ireland—I defied any man to take up the volumes of Irish history that have been written about these periods, and to show me, from them, a single instance where any individual was persecuted by the Irish Catholics while in power, and if they could I would give up the controversy at once. Was I answered in that challenge? No (hear, hear, and cheers). But I am mistaken. I was answered by the emphatic silence that followed. In the reign of Queen Mary the Catholics were fresh out of a most fearful persecution, during which the English soldiers were in the habit, by way of amusing themselves, to place the heads of the friars between their knees, and then to batter

in their skulls, with stones, to the verge of the circle of hair to which their heads were shaven (loud cries of "oh, oh," and "hear"). Recollect the hideous and horrible cruelties inflicted on the Archbishop of Cashel, who was made to stand in a pair of boots that were made water-tight, but filled around his feet and legs with water and lime, until his flesh was burned to the bone (hear, hear). It was after such atrocities that the Catholics came to power, and that the Protestant government was at an end; but, though Mary persecuted her Protestant subjects in England—though she burned them, and put them to death in many other ways, the Irish Catholics did not persecute a single individual, though they had the example of the English Catholics before them. How I do rejoice in being an Irishman, when, notwithstanding persecution and example combined, they did not persecute a single individual, or injure the person or property of a single Protestant. They did not even punish the miscreants who had before acted towards them with such atrocity, lest they should dwindle into persecutors themselves. I have often mentioned how the Catholic Corporation, as they would do now if the necessity occurred, had taken seventy-four houses, to which they invited over their mercantile correspondents of Bristol; and when Mary's persecution closed, they sent them back, with their families safe and sound, and well (hear). I challenged investigation—I put it in my book, and yet no one attempted to deny what I asserted. And will it be asserted that the Catholics of Ireland, who did not persecute before, would do so now when persecution was at an end everywhere except in two Protestant states, Denmark and Sweden alone? I know of no other country where persecution is continued, and why it should be revived in Ireland by the Irish Catholics, who never before persecuted, is what I cannot understand. Shame on the drivellers who could dream of such a thing; it is but a dream, and as such I dismiss it to the winds (cheers).

But, what a glorious prospect now opens before us. We have at length gained an opportunity of carrying everything for our country. We are, indeed, told to acquiesce in our present wretchedness, and yet did those who told us to do so deny the misery of the country? Did they deny the existence of the two million three hundred and eighty-five thousand paupers reported to be in the country by the poor law commission? Did they deny that poverty and distress assail every man's door, and that those who escape from the actual infliction see, with horror, surrounding them multitudes of the destitute and the starving? During the debate I remarked two things in particular—first, no man attempted to assert that we derived any benefit from the union. There was not a man attempted to point out a single advantage Ireland gained by the Union; the contrary was so clear that no one attempted to do so, and I would be glad to see the kind of animal that could say it. If he was an animal on two legs, I would say that he ought to be given

a second pair of wooden legs, and be then sent to Alderman Purcell's cattle show (laughter). But did anybody attempt to deny that the union produced poverty, and distress, and destitution in the country? Alderman Butt said something about savings' banks, and the profits of the Grand Canal, but his own party gave a shudder of disapprobation at such an assertion, and he at once abandoned the point as hopeless. It is undeniable that trades and manufactures are gone—that of the operatives few are employed, and only one out of a thousand is sufficiently remunerated (hear). Are the landed interests more contented? Are they not complaining of the grand jury cess, and are not many of the Protestant gentry complaining of having to pay the tithe rent charge? Are not all classes complaining of the poor rates? and are not all, besides, impoverished by the general destitution of the country? (hear, hear.) Yes—every man admitted that no good, but that innumerable evils followed it. All admitted the destitution that prevails; and they gave the strongest kind of admission that there was no hope for Ireland from the English Parliament, because what Alderman Purcell proposed, and what Councillor Perry suggested alike, was that we should lie down and remain as we are. Such a state was well put in the lines—

Open your mouth and shut your eyes,  
And heaven will love you and send you a prize.

While the entire cause of Ireland is with the Repealers, remember that I implore of you to conciliate every body. The man who can conciliate a single Protestant, Presbyterian, or unwilling Catholic, is, to my mind, the best of patriots; for what do we want but that they should join us, in order that they may see how the work goes on, and that they may assist to model it in such a manner that no evil can be done to themselves? (hear, hear.) Perhaps it may be said that I am an unfit person to lead them on; and I must admit, that during the contest for Emancipation, I have often used scathing and violent words. I abused many of them; and, what is worse, I ridiculed more of them; and I haughtily threw back with defiance the attacks made upon me and my country: but, then, I ask, did I begin the battle? or did I, in the first instance, get no provocation? (hear, hear); or, rather, did there ever live a man better abused than I have been? (hear, hear.) Napoleon was a great man, and, as such, might naturally expect to be greatly abused; but I, who am not a great man, have come in for almost an equal share of it. But this I can say, that however I might abuse, or be abused, no man can assert that he found me refusing to be reconciled, or cherishing enmity in my breast (loud cries of "hear, hear"). No, from the grave I would conjure up the spirit of Sir Abraham Bradley King—he who mocked me by enjoying the swindling trick played upon me when the King was here. That man was in distress—he was in bitter want, and would have spent his days in wretchedness, and his nights in sorrow, while he starved in misery. Those who were his



companions and his guests, in his days of prosperity, all forsook him. He found one friend—the agitator, Daniel O’Connell (cheers). How did he coax me? By showing me that his cause was just. I laid hold of the justice of his case, and I have the happiness to repeat that his respectable son-in-law, who is an officer in the army, took the trouble to come a distance for the purpose of seeing me, and of telling me, “Mr O’Connell, I come to you with a message from a dying man, that he gave me to communicate to you fifteen minutes before his death. It is, that he who would have died in anguish, in destitution, and in misery, had the pangs of death softened to him by your advocacy of his case” (loud cheering). Does any man suppose that I would give up the pleasure of that anecdote for any other consideration? (hear, hear). Whatever cloud may have come over my latter days—and there has occurred but one event that could throw a cloud on them—I have a secret satisfaction in reflecting that my political enemy was in destitution, and that I stood between him and misery (hear). Do I say this in vain boasting? No, far be it from me. In his case I merely acted according to the principles by which I have endeavoured to govern the whole course of my political life, and I am ready to act the same part over again by any of them, no matter how inveterate may be his enmity to me, who may stand in need of my assistance. Why should they misconceive my motives? Why misconstrue my actions? Situated as I at present am, as to age and circumstances, surely they must be well aware no earthly inducement could be so strong an influence over my mind as to coerce me to delude my countrymen into paths of fallacy and crime. My disposition is, from its natural bias, averse to deeds of violence; and the certain knowledge that the time cannot be far distant when I must render an account of my guardianship before my God, at the peril of an eternity of weal or woe, ought to make me circumspect in all my actions, and scrupulous in the extreme as to the courses which I pursue. Soon must I leave this fleeting scene. What is the world, or what are worlds’ glories to me, that in order to grasp them for an instant I should imperil my immortal soul? Oh! not for all the universe contains of most superb and beautiful, would I, in the struggle of what I conceive my country’s cause, consent to the effusion of one single drop of human blood, except my own. Any other man’s blood I dare not spill. Oh! I have too much of it on my soul already. [The honourable and learned gentleman appeared deeply affected.] I trust I may not be charged with presumption, if I declare it as my opinion, that every honest and peaceable Protestant in the land ought to congratulate himself that I have lived till this day, and that I enjoy so large a portion of the confidence of my countrymen. Yes, it were vain to deny it. I do possess a mighty influence over them. Were I to tell them, to-morrow, “March to the battle field,” think you there are many who would refuse to obey the summons? But never

shall such a mandate issue from my lips. I tell them to retire to their homes peaceably and in good order, and they retire in mighty masses with as much gentleness and tranquillity as would grace the movements of the lovelier and the better of our sexes (hear, hear). Possessing such an influence, and knowing how to exercise it in such a spirit, I am just the man to sway the movement of the popular mind in Ireland; for, so help me Heaven, I toil not to win ascendancy for my party, and the dearest object of my life is to see Irishmen of all conceivable grades and classes combined together, as of one accord, to recover their national independence, and strike off the fetters which cramp the energies and destroy the dignity of the lovely land that bore us (hear, hear, and loud cheers).

I think, myself, that I have addressed you with more animation to-day than usual, and that sometimes, during my discourse, my mind soared to those higher flights of diction and thought that may, perhaps, be considered to resemble eloquence. But mine is not the merit—the theme on which I expatiated would excite eloquence in the most barren intellect, and it is no praise of mine that I have now reached such a position: that standing upon this spot, I can announce to all Ireland—You may be a nation once again if you are worthy of being so—I can do no more. There is nothing else for you but energy and perseverance. You are lost if you relax your energies—there is no hope for you if you suffer yourselves to be deluded by the fallacies of those who would preach the doctrines of “repose,” forsooth, and would have you lie down in the mire before Peter Purcell and the pigs (laughter). But, no, I am sorry that I have been so rash as to make such an assertion. I do not desire to speak of Mr. Purcell, except in terms of respect. His personal and private character challenge the admiration of all who know him (hear, hear, and loud cheers). Despite of all his sins and follies as a politician, truth compels me to make this avowal. I know of no public man who does more charity; his bounties to the poor are splendid and munificent, and, indeed, upon reflection, I am sorry that I used the words, which, in the heat of hurried discourse, have just escaped me. But I come back to the *ignavi animalia*. If you will disregard the insidious exhortations of those who would have you to play the part of recreants to the land of your nativity; and, if in honesty of soul, and with unanimity of purpose, you will resolve to achieve the legislative independence of your country, I proclaim it throughout the land, that the rising of to-morrow’s sun is not more assured than that our country shall be free.—Will you be free, my countrymen? I put the question to every man, woman, and child in the kingdom. The triumphs which we have won are only to be prized as rendering us fit to take the field in a great moral and constitutional struggle for the advancement of a question in which are involved the best and dearest hopes of our country and ourselves. Oh, let it not be said, that no adequate result has followed

from the mighty movements in which we heretofore have been engaged. It was necessary that we should obtain Emancipation, in order that men of all variety of religious belief might coalesce, and, being gifted with equal rights, might flock together around the same standard as freemen and as brethern. I have made men of you who were born in bondage. Oh, prove that you are worthy of man's glorious prerogative—liberty, by working with undying zeal, the unconquerable energy of freemen for the achievement of your country's rights—her natural rights, of which she has been basely pilfered. Liberty, I again repeat, is within your reach if you will but show that you are worthy of enjoying it (hear, hear, and cheers). In conclusion, Sir, I have the honour of moving the following resolution :—

“Resolved—That every individual who is a thorough Repealer shall be admissible to join the Loyal National Repeal Association ; but that no one shall be admissible who is not a Repealer.”

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When the motion of Mr. O'CONNELL was carried at the Corporation, a Committee, composed of the Members of the Council who voted in support of it, were appointed to draw up a Petition to Parliament, praying for a Repeal of the Legislative Union, and the following having been agreed to by them, it was passed at a Meeting of the Corporation, with the Lord Mayor in the Chair, which was held on Wednesday, 22d March, following, and entrusted to Alderman O'CONNELL, M.P., for presentation in the House of Commons :

## REPEAL PETITION.

The Town Clerk brought forward the Repeal petition which had been read on the last day of meeting and ordered to lie upon the table. The following is a copy :

**" TO THE KNIGHTS, BURGESSES, AND CITIZENS, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.**

*" The humble Petition of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses, of the Borough of Dublin,*

**" SHOWETH**—That the Irish nation, in extent of territory, in fertility of soil, in the number and industry of its inhabitants, furnishes abundant means for the maintenance of an independent legislature, and requires such legislature for the due attention to the local interest and general prosperity of Ireland.

**" Your petitioners further respectfully assert** that the Irish nation, from the time of their acquiescing in the sovereignty of the English crown, have had a distinct and perfect right to a domestic parliament—a right not derived from any grant, donation, or charter of the English Monarch, nor from any act, ordinance, or statute of the English parliament, but a right springing spontaneously and of necessity from the principle of self-government, inherent in the position of the freeborn subjects of the British crown.

**" Your petitioners further show that in 1762 the Irish people, being then in arms against the foreign foes of the British crown, and for their own protection against domestic enemies—capable, if they had thought fit to do so, totally to remodel their own former government—it was proposed between them and the ruling powers in England, that a final adjustment of all differences should take place, upon a basis to be consented to by both countries—that such basis was solemnly and mutually agreed upon to consist of the legislative and judicial independence of Ireland of the British courts of law and British parliament.**

**" That such adjustment was solemnly recognised in the addresses from the crown to the houses of parliament in England and Ireland reciprocally, and was effectually protected, as it was then universally believed, by statutes passed in each of the separate legislatures, thus most emphatically proclaiming as a final adjustment of all constitutional questions, the settlement which thus then took place.**

**" And your petitioners show that the original inherent right of the Irish nation to a domestic legislature was, by this solemn treaty of modern date, conclusively recognised and established.**

**" Your petitioners further show that the most beneficial results followed from the legislative and judicial independence of Ireland—manufactures were fostered and augmented—commerce was increased and extended—native industry was cherished and rewarded—the value of lands and houses greatly augmented—the rents were readily paid by prospering farmers—all classes of society shared in increased comforts, and looked forward to the future with a pleasing hope of bringing up their families for still better times and augmented prosperity.**

**" Your petitioners show that ill-advised and iniquitous statesmen formed the**

plan of retarding such prosperity, and of obtaining more power for themselves by annihilating the Irish parliament.

"But your petitioners, in the spirit of perfect respect, but, at the same time, of the most unequivocal firmness, assert that it was utterly incompetent for the Irish parliament to annihilate the Irish legislative and judicial independence, or to transfer to any other country, or to any other legislatures, be they French, English, Spanish, or any other country, the right of making the laws, or of construing the laws of Ireland.

"Your petitioners utterly deny that the Union was a compact or bargain; it was merely the dictate of England, then more powerful than Ireland. The Irish people never assented to it. Martial law was proclaimed and enforced during the time that the Union was carried—the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended—trial by jury was in abeyance, and courts-martial substituted for the legal tribunals of the land—the military force was enormously augmented—the people were not allowed constitutionally to assemble to petition against the Union. Meetings duly convened by sheriffs of counties, for the mere purpose of petition, were forcibly dispersed and scattered at the point of the bayonet; and, in addition, the most profligate and enormously extensive bribery prevailed. The proprietors, as they were most illegally and unconstitutionally called, of the rotten boroughs, shared among them no less a sum than one million two hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds: and, in fine, your petitioners are able to prove, before any tribunal whatever, that the Union was carried by the grossest corruption and bribery, added to force, fraud, and terror.

"Your Petitioners further show that the Union has produced the most disastrous results to Ireland. It has annihilated the Irish manufactures that existed at that period, and substituted but few indeed in their place; it has nearly extinguished all legitimate commerce; it has made the exports of Ireland consist of provisions and cattle—and her imports, of goods manufactured in foreign countries. It has exceedingly increased the exhausting evils of absenteeism—a system replete with exhaustion and political inaction—it has covered the land with poverty, distress, and destitution, and produced the astounding spectacle of more than 2,300,000 paupers, being more than one-fourth of the inhabitants of one of the most fruitful countries on the face of the globe; and these evils, instead of diminishing, are manifestly augmenting and spreading into a wide circle.

"Your petitioners further show, that there are constitutional resources and means by which the Union may be abolished, peaceably and legally, without the violation of law, and without riot, violence, or tumult, or the destruction of property or injury to limb or life.

"Your petitioners further show that the natural result of the restoration of our domestic legislature and of our judicial independence would be, what experience has already shown them to have been, the most beneficial to Ireland. A domestic parliament would encourage manufactures, foster commerce, countenance and support agriculture, augment the wealth, secure the liberties and establish the well-being, comfort, and prosperity of the Irish people.

"May it therefore please your honourable house to take the premises into your due consideration, and to restore the legislative and judicial independence of Ireland by the Repeal of the Legislative Union, and your petitioners will ever pray."

THE END.

JAMES DUFFY, 25, Anglesea-street, Dublin.



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